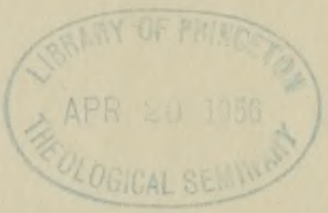

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The journal of John Woolman

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The Journal of John Woolman

Other Books by Janet Whitney

Elizabeth Fry, Quaker Heroine (1936)

Jenifer (1941)

John Woolman, American Quaker (1942)

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The Journal of John Woolman

Edited by

Janet Whitney

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INTRODUCTION

JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL is in point of time the first American classic, predating the publication of the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin[1] by seventeen years. President Eliot of Harvard selected it for his Five Foot Book Shelf as an example of beautiful English, and Charles Lamb recorded his advice to those who wish to write well that they should "get the writings of John Woolman by heart."

The reading of journals is often fascinating because of their unconscious revelation of the subject's private life, but the journal of John Woolman does not belong to that school. Woolman prepared it from the first for publication, and omitted all details of his private life except such skeleton as was necessary to keep together the more public parts of his living—his Quaker work, his travels in the effort to convince his fellow men of the wrong of slavery. Fortunately, he gave much space to the wealth of meditation on the divine and human order which occupied so many of his hours.

It is this which gives the book its eternal quality and a steady circle of readers. That circle was never wider than now. A materialistic and war-ridden age seeks more satisfying values adapted to its needs. Religion must again establish its altar not merely in the "steeple-houses" but in the ordinary human heart and alongside the traffic of the common ways of life. To bear witness to that kind of religion is Woolman's peculiar gift. It was real to him

[1] First edition, in French, 1791.

and by the magic of his language he makes it real to others.

John Woolman was born in 1720 on the Rancocas in New Jersey, and died in 1772 at York, England, while on a visit to that country. He was one of a family of thirteen children, brought up in the simple comforts of a farm in the height of the colonial period. His father, like many of the settlers in New Jersey—and Woolman's father was the son of an original settler—combined a craft with his farming activities, and was a master-weaver. John Woolman took up the craft of a tailor. Successful in all his practical undertakings, he was wary of success in case it should lead to selfishness, and "through loving the present world he be found in a continued neglect of duty in respect to a faithful labour for a reformation."[2] A naturally eloquent and powerful speaker, he was wary of giving way too much to that gift, and watched his words when he spoke in meeting for worship in case he should run beyond the call. "We were taught by renewed experience," says John Woolman, "to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words but to live in the spirit of truth and utter that to the people which truth opened in us." Strongly social, he was on guard against a "superficial friendship, [which] had been dangerous to me."[3]

Sometimes we may feel that he thwarted his nature too much; but his life, like a fine piece of weaving, was all in one piece. He expressed the foundation of its pattern when he said, "Desires were renewed in me to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the difficulties of my fellow creatures, and to labour dili-

[2] *Journal,* p. 176.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 116.

gently according to the strength given me for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven."[4]

Although the events in his journal are mainly those of his travels on religious visits, and he died while on a religious visit to England, he was not a professional preacher or any way ordained or set apart to preach. Being recorded as a minister by his Monthly Meeting of Burlington, New Jersey, as he was when only twenty-three years old, merely meant, in Quaker phrase, that his Meeting recognized his gift. That is, they regarded him as one whom the Lord had specially chosen for the occasional service of speaking in Meeting when the call should come to him. Such recognition did not mean that the recorded minister should speak in every Meeting he attended, nor did it mean that those not so recorded were excused from feeling that they ever had a responsibility to speak in Meeting. The call of the Lord or the movement of the Spirit may come to any person, man or woman, present in a Meeting, and must be obeyed if the true good of the whole body is to be served. But there are some individuals to whom the art of speaking is more natural than to others, and if such Friends speak to the approval of the group, it was the custom in John Woolman's time and in several generations since for such a gift to be recognized by being recorded in the minutes. When such a person traveled in the ministry he carried with him, by the very wording of his traveling minute, specially granted for the occasion, the seal of approval of the Monthly Meeting—that is, the local church group—by his being a recorded minister. But others besides recorded ministers could receive a minute to make religious visits if they had the sympathy of their local group,

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

and of late years the practice of recording ministers has fallen largely into disuse—in England entirely so—because of its very ambiguity. The Society of Friends is a priesthood of all believers. But John Woolman's group had recognized his gift according to their custom, and he could therefore be regarded among Quakers as a minister. He was, however, from the beginning to the end of his life a layman in every American or English sense of the word. Farming, merchandise, tailoring, surveying, appraising, some legal work such as the writing of deeds and wills, these were the activities by which he earned his living and left his wife and child reasonably well provided for.

John Woolman married, at the age of twenty-nine, a young woman of twenty-eight whom he had known for many years as a kind of cousin. There was no blood relationship but Woolman's mother's brother, Samuel Burr, had married Sarah's mother's sister, Jane, and the orphaned Sarah Ellis had been brought up at the Burr homestead, two miles outside of Mount Holly. When Woolman visited his grandfather's home, there was Sarah among the cousins. In spite of the afterthought by which he mentioned his marriage in a little paragraph inserted in the journal after he had completed it, his married life was evidently close and tender. Their daughter Mary grew up to marry one of Woolman's orchard apprentices, John Comfort, and became the mother of ten children, eight of them sons. All of John Woolman's direct descendants therefore bore the name of Comfort. For further details as to John Woolman's personal life, his wife and friends, and for the background of the times and circumstances against which the journal was written and which makes parts of it more

fully comprehensible, the reader is referred to the biography, *John Woolman, American Quaker,* by Janet Whitney (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1942; "An Atlantic Monthly Press Book").

John Woolman's journal was left behind with John Pemberton, his great friend and one of the prominent Quakers of Philadelphia, when Woolman left America for England, never to return. John Pemberton and other Friends, an appointed Committee of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, edited the journal for publication after Woolman's death in England four months later. Woolman had given them leave to deal with the manuscript as they saw fit, and they freely exercised this privilege. The large folio manuscript which had been left in Pemberton's hands was the one which Woolman considered ready for the printer. It is on this manuscript, therefore, that Pemberton and the other Quakers exercised their editorial privileges, sometimes crossing words out and writing emendations on the actual manuscript itself. It was printed by Crukshank in 1774 at Philadelphia, as the first of two parts of the *Works of John Woolman.*

After this edition had run its course, there were various other editions based on the first one, often without reference to the manuscript. In 1871 a notable new edition was prepared in this way by the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, and this has up to the present been the basic text. The Everyman Edition for instance, possibly the best known and the most widely used, is the Whittier version with the omission of Chapter Ten and one or two other passages.

In 1922, when more of the Woolman manuscripts were available to the research worker, a new edition of

John Woolman's complete writings which was prepared by Amelia Mott Gummere, direct from the manuscript, with an introduction and appendix of a great deal of supplementary material drawn from original sources. The editor acknowledges indebtedness to the Appendix of Gummere's, *John Woolman's Journal* (New York, Macmillan, 1922) for several ideas in Appendix E of this book. Both editions also contained many variations from Woolman's manuscript, and both are now out of print.

The present edition has again gone to the manuscripts in the aim to present John Woolman's own words and phrases in full and verbatim and has had the advantage of valuable new manuscripts which have come to light. In the main the spellings and capitalization have been modernized, however. And the chapter headings have been shortened.

There are three manuscripts of Woolman's main *Journal* extant in his handwriting and sometimes they present alternative readings. The Folio, the one representing Woolman's final version, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, along with Woolman's account books and some of his letters and the manuscripts of his essays. The Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College is custodian of two other manuscripts of the *Journal,* one a complete Quarto in Woolman's handwriting, and one a fragmentary Quarto, the earliest in date of them all, but leaving off abruptly at the death of Woolman's sister. Whether there was once a complete set of this particular manuscript, or whether Woolman actually left off writing it at that date and then set to work on the revised version of the Second Quarto, is impossible to tell. But there is such a great charm in that First Quarto manuscript, spontaneous and unedited,

that the present editor has chosen it as the main authority for the opening chapters of the *Journal.* From there on, the readings presented here are mostly those of the Folio, which in general is identical with the Second Quarto. When any differences occur it is the editor's task to make choice between the rival versions, and the choice has been made with the desire to present Woolman's own thought in its most arresting expression.

In addition to the manuscripts of the *Journal* referred to herein as the First Quarto, Second Quarto, and Folio, there is also the journal which Woolman wrote day by day on the long sea voyage to England, and the journal which he kept of his four months in England previous to his death. These journals were left in the care of friends in England, and Woolman had time to edit and rewrite the sea journal before he died. The neat revised copy ready for the printer was forwarded to America with other of John Woolman's effects, and is now to be found in the library of Swarthmore College. The original notes were left behind in England with his landlord John Townsend, then brought to America (perhaps by Townsend on his later visit); then taken back to England, divided, and lost to view. The first half came into the possession[5] of the Mount School, York, a Quaker school for girls which owed its original foundation to Esther Tuke.

In 1941, Violet Holdsworth, a member of the Hodgkin family in England, discovered a collection of old manuscripts stored in an attic of one of the family homes. Among them a set of small pages stitched together proved to be the second half of the original sea diary. Mrs. Holdsworth presented this wonderful find to the

[5] By the gift of the late Elisabeth Brockbank.

Friends' Reference Library, Friends' House, London, naming it the Luke Howard Manuscript after her grandfather, its collector. The complete undoctored manuscript of the whole sea journal thus became available for the first time. The present editor has in the main preferred it here, for its freshness and vividness, to the revised manuscript at Swarthmore College hitherto used as a basis for the printed versions.

The editor assumes responsibility for any errors, but wishes to express gratitude to Henry J. Cadbury, Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard University, and to Howard H. Brinton, Director of Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, for their invaluable help in going over the final manuscript.

References to slavery and Woolman's method of attacking it are numerous in the *Journal.* That particular evil is now a dead issue in this country, but Woolman's treatment of it often throws light on the fundamental principles of the dealings of man with man. In the treatment of labourers, in the responsibility of the employer for his employed, in the conditions of life at sea, in thoughts on apprenticeship in general, on the value of farming as a way of life, on the snare of wealth, on the causes of war, and need of true wisdom, John Woolman speaks as clearly and purely to our time as to his own.

"When we remember," said Woolman, "that all nations are of one blood, that in this world we are but sojourners, that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment, and that the All Wise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an idea of a general brotherhood. . . . To consider mankind otherwise than

brethren, to think favours are peculiar to one nation and exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding. For, as God's Love is universal, so where the mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a Likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards all men. When self-love presides in our minds, our opinions are bias'd in our own favour. In this condition . . . there's danger of using ourselves to an undisturbed partiality till, by long custom, the mind becomes reconciled with it and the judgment itself infected."

JANET WHITNEY
Westtown, Pennsylvania

The Journal of John Woolman

CHAPTER ONE

1720 – 1742

Childhood and youth; early religious experiences; choosing a career; the slave sale.

I HAVE often felt a desire to leave some brief hints in writing concerning my experience of the goodness of God. And now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720, and before I was seven years old I was sensible of His love, and often found a care upon me how I should please Him. I was through the care of my parents taught to read near as soon as I was capable of it, and it was even then of use to me. I remember as I went from school one seventh day of the week, my company playing by the way, I went forward out of sight and sat down and read the twenty-second chapter of Revelation, 'he showed me a river clear as crystal,' etc. In reading of it my mind was made to seek after and long for that pure habitation which I then believed God had prepared for His servants. The place where I sat and the sweetness that filled my mind remains fresh in my memory as though the time since was much shorter. This and the like gracious visitations had such an effect upon me that when boys used ill language it troubled me, and through the continued mercies of God I was preserved from it.

The pious instructions of parents I esteem a great blessing. Their care over me was often fresh in my mind when I came amongst wicked children, and was of use to me. We being a large family of children it was customary with my parents after Meeting on First days to put us to read in the Holy Scriptures or some good books, one after another, the rest sitting without much conversation. I have since often thought it was a good practice. From what I had read and heard I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of now living; and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in the present age often troubled me while I was still a child.[1]

I had a dream about the ninth year of my age as follows. I saw the moon rise near the west and run on a regular course eastward so swift that in about a quarter of an hour she reached our meridian, at which time there descended from her a small cloud which on a direct line came to the earth on a pleasant green about twenty yards from the door of my father's house in which I stood, and immediately turned into a beautiful tree. The moon ran on with equal swiftness and soon set in the east, at which time the sun arose at the place of his common rising in the summer, and shining with full radiance in a serene air it appeared as pleasant a morning as ever I saw. All this time I stood still in the door in an awful frame of mind; and as heat increased by the rising sun, it wrought so powerfully on the blooming tree that the leaves and branches thereof began to wither, and before noon it appeared dry and dead. Then there appeared a being small of size full of strength and resolution moving

[1] This sentence is from the Second Quarto.

swift from the north southward called a sun worm. Though I was a child this dream was instructive to me.

Another thing remarkable while I was a little boy was that going to a neighbour's house, on the way I saw a robin sitting on her nest and as I came near she went off, but having young ones flew backward and forward, and with many cries showed her concern for them. I threw stones at her till, one striking her, she fell down dead. However pleased with the exploit, I was shortly seized with horror and remorse, as having killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I considered they must now perish for want of their dam to feed them. After some painful thoughts I climbed up the tree, took her young ones and killed them, as judging that better than for them to pine away miserably. I went on my errand, but for some hours could think of little else but my cruel conduct toward the poor old bird, which thoughts were very afflicting.

I mention this to show how God the parent of all creatures hath placed that in the human mind which doth instruct and incite to exercise goodness toward all His creatures. This being singly attended to, people grow compassionate and sympathizing, but being frequently and totally rejected, the heart shuts itself up in a contrary disposition.

Another thing I remember, I believe about the twelfth year of my age; my father* being abroad, my mother* reproved me for some misdeed, to which reproof I made an undutiful reply.

The next First day as I was with my father returning

* Here, and throughout the *Journal* the asterisk is used with the names of persons to refer the reader to the biographical notes in Appendix E.

from Meeting, he told me he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advised me to do better. I knew myself greatly to blame, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my wickedness, I was troubled, and getting home I retired alone and prayed to the Almighty to forgive me. And I do not remember that I ever afterwards spoke unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in other things.

Having attained the age of sixteen years I began to love company, and though I was ever preserved from profane language or scandalous conduct, yet I found in me a plant strong and extensive which brought forth wild grapes. Yet the merciful God forsook me not utterly but at times through his grace I was brought seriously to consider my ways. The sight of my backsliding affected me with trouble, yet for want of attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, which made work for repentance. Upon the whole my mind was more and more alienated from the truth, and I hastened toward destruction.

While I meditate on the gulf toward which I travelled, and call to mind my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water; the kindness of the Most High is superior to all language. Blessed are they who serve Him faithfully.

Advancing in age the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. The comfort I had sometimes found in reading the Holy Scriptures and contemplating the Divine Goodness was now removed from me. I knew myself turned from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return. Hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and I seemed hap-

piest when I thought least about true virtue. Running in this road I found many like myself, and we were united in that which is reverse to true friendship.

In this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sore sickness that I doubted of recovery. Then did darkness, horror and amazement with full strength seize me, even when my pain and distress of body was very great. I thought it had been better for me never to have had a being than to see the day I now saw. Thus I lay in a piteous condition and with bitter lamentation bewailed my misery. At length that word which is a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and in deep abasement I called upon the name of the Most High; my cries were put up in sincerity and contrition, and in the multitude of His mercies he heard me; my hope was renewed and I found His favour to be more than life. I was strongly engaged in mind that if He was pleased to restore my health I might serve Him faithfully.

After my recovery this exercise remained with me a considerable time, and I had hopes of standing; but by degrees giving way to youthful vanities they gained strength, and getting with wanton young people I let go my hold of God's covenant. He had spoken peace to me in a time of bitterness, yet I now most ungratefully turned again to folly. I felt sharp and cutting reproofs at times, but did not get low enough to cry for help, for I loved folly to that degree that I had no resolution to leave it. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous, but to exceed in the art of foolish jesting and to promote mirth were my chief study. Still I ever retained a love and regard to such whom I thought good people, whose company generally brought an awe upon me.

My dear parents several times in a private way admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their labours entered into my heart and had a good effect for a season. But still I was not low enough; for when the tempter came he conquered me [not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter when he came found entrance].[2]

I remember once having spent a part of a day most wantonly, going to bed at night, in a window near my bed lay a Bible. I opened it, and I first cast my eye on the text "we lie down in our shame and our confusion covereth us." This I knew to be my condition, and meeting with it so unexpectedly, I was affected with it, and went to bed under remorse of conscience, which I shortly cast off again.

Thus time passed on; my heart was replenished with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of vanity were presented to my imagination, till I attained the age of eighteen years, near which time I felt the judgments of God in my soul, like a consuming fire, and looking over my past life the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be delivered from those vanities; then again my heart was strongly inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict. At times I turned to folly, and then again sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities, but there was a secret reserve in my heart of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus for some months I had great troubles; my will was unsubjected, which rendered my labours fruitless. Thus for some months I had much trouble and disquiet.

[2] That part of the sentence in brackets is from the Folio and Second Quarto versions.

And now I come to a winter evening which to me is memorable. I had spent some time in reading a pious author with which I was affected; I walked alone. And feeling the spirit of supplication upon me, I prayed to the Lord for his help that I might be preserved from these vanities which so ensnared and afflicted my mind; I found help in my distress and through faith mountains were removed; I learned to bear the cross, and felt refreshment to come from the presence of the Lord. But not keeping in that strength that gives victory I lost ground, the sense of which entered deep. I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my sins to God, and humbly craved help of Him.

I may say with reverence He was near to me in my troubles; and in these times of humiliation He opened my ear to discipline. I was led to look carefully at the means by which I was drawn from His testimony; and I learned that if I would live in the life which the faithful servants of God lived in I must not go into company in my own will, but all the cravings of sense must be governed by a superior principle. In times of sorrow and abasement these instructions were sealed, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over all selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness. I found it my true interest to serve God in faithfulness, and being young and believing a single life best for me at present, I was strengthened to keep from such company which had often been a snare to me.

I kept steady to Meetings, spent afternoons on First days in reading the Scriptures and other good books and was early convinced in my mind that true religion consisted in an inward life wherein the heart doth reverence God the Creator and learns to exercise equal justice and

goodness not only towards all men but also towards all God's creatures. That as the mind was moved on an inward principle to love God as an invisible incomprehensible being, on the same principle it was moved to love Him in all His outward manifestations in the visible creation; that as by His breath the flame of life was kindled in all animal and sensitive creatures, to say that we love God as unseen and at the same time to exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by His life, or by life derived by Him, was a contradiction in itself.

I found no narrowness respecting any sects as believing sincere and upright-hearted people in every society who truly loved God were accepted of Him.

As I lived under the cross and simply followed the openings of truth, my mind from day to day was more enlightened. My former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I lived in private and these things were sealed up in my own breast.

While I silently ponder on that change which I found in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it.

I looked upon the works of God in his visible creation and an awefulness covered me.

My heart was tender and often contrite and love to my fellow creatures universally greatly increased in my mind. This will be understood by those who have trod the same path.

Some glances of real beauty are perceivable in their countenances who dwell in true meekness. Some tincture of true harmony in the sound of that voice to which divine love gives utterance. Some appearance of right order in their temper whose passions are fully regulated, yet all these together do not fully show forth that inward

life, to such as have not felt it. But this white stone and new name is known rightly to such only who have it.

Now though I had been strengthened to bear the cross in many instances, I still saw myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me and great temptations to wrestle with, in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places and with tears besought the Lord to help me, whose gracious ear was open to my cry. All this time I lived with my father, and wrought on the plantation, and having had schooling pretty well for a planter I used to improve winter evenings and other leisure times. And being now upward of twenty years old a man in much business, shopkeeping and baking, asked me if I would hire with him to keep books and tend shop. I told my father of the offer and after some days deliberation it was agreed for me to go. I had for some time found my mind less given to husbandry than heretofore, having often in view some other way of living.

At home I had lived retired, and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God the Father of all mercies that in this public employ I might serve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial with which I had been in a small degree acquainted in a very private life.

The man who employed me furnished a shop in Mt. Holly about five miles from my father's house and six from his own. There I lived by myself and tended his shop. Shortly after my settlement here I was visited by several young people of my former acquaintance who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever. At these times I looked to the Lord for help, for I felt myself very weak. And as I had now left my father's

house outwardly, I found my Heavenly Father to be merciful to me more than I can express.

By day I was much among people, and had many trials to go through, but in the evening I was mostly alone, and may with true thankfulness acknowledge that the spirit of supplication was often upon me and I called upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God.

In a few months after I had been here my master bought several Scotch men, servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mt. Holly to sell. Having sold several, the rest were left with me, one of which was taken sick and died. The latter part of his sickness, being delirious, he used to curse and swear most sorrowfully.

After he was buried I was left to sleep alone the next night in the same chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorous disposition. I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but had taken care of him in his sickness according to my capacity, and I was not free on that account to ask anyone to sleep with me. Nature was feeble, but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like Him in times of trouble.

After a while my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company, and I began to be acquainted with some whose conversation was helpful to me. And now as I had found the love of God through Jesus Christ to draw me from many pollutions and to be a constant succor to me through a sea of conflicts with which none on earth was fully acquainted, as my mind was often enlarged in this heavenly principle so I felt a tender pity for the young people who remained entangled in the same snares which had entangled me. From

one month to another this love and tenderness increased and I found it too strong and forcible to be much longer confined to my own breast.

I went to Meetings in an awful frame of mind and endeavoured to keep to my exercise till one day feeling the word of the Lord in my heart I stood up and said some words in a Meeting, but not keeping close to the true Opener I said more than He directed me to say. I was soon sensible of my error and afflicted in mind some weeks without any light or comfort, to that degree that I could take satisfaction in nothing. I remembered God and was troubled, and in the depths of my distress I cried to Him, who in this time of my humiliation sent the Comforter, for which I was truly thankful.

And after this, my mind being calm and quiet, and feeling the spring of Divine Love opened and the concern to speak, I said a few words in a Meeting, in which I found peace. This I believe was about six or seven weeks from the first time. And as I was thus humbled and disciplined under the cross my understanding became more strengthened to know the language of the pure Spirit which moves upon the intellectual deep, and to wait in silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to His people.

From an inward purifying and steadfast abiding in it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others. All faithful people are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are called to it are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various, but wherever men are true ministers of Jesus Christ it is from the operation

of His spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them and then giving them a feeling sense of the conditions of the people.

This truth was early fixed on my mind, and I was taught carefully to watch the opening lest while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, uttering words from worldly wisdom, and so depart from the true channel of the gospel ministry.

In the transacting of outward affairs I may say with thankfulness I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness, and was respected in my master's family, who were now come to live in Mt. Holly.

As my mind was often inward, meditating on God's Providence manifested in the visible world, I was more and more confirmed in my judgment that to place my whole trust in Him was best for me, and laboured from one month to another to come into that condition of trusting in God with all my heart and not to lean to my own understanding. I found renewed engagements that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than as truth opened my way.

At the time called Christmas I observed many people both from the country and dwellers in the town, who resorted to the public houses and spent their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to deprave and corrupt one another, on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was uncommon reveling, that it looked like a duty laid upon me to go and speak to the master of that house about it. I considered I was young, and that several elderly Friends in town had opportunity to see these things, and though I fain would have been excused yet could not feel my mind clear. My

exercise was heavy, and I looked at the duty of a watchman as the Almighty opened it to Ezekiel; in reading of which the matter seemed to be set home more fully, and with prayers and tears, I besought God for wisdom and strength, and in His loving kindness He gave me a resigned heart, that after some deliberation I went to the said public house, and seeing the man of the house amongst other people I told him I wanted to speak with him. So we went aside, and there in the fear of the Lord I expressed to him the matter that lay upon me; which he appeared to take kindly, and showed afterward more respect to me than aforetime. In a few years after he died middle-aged, and I often thought that had I neglected my duty in that case it would have given me great remorse. And I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father that by His aid I had discharged what He laid upon me.

Within a year after my coming to Mt. Holly, my master having a Negro sold her and told me to write a bill of sale. The thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow creatures gave me trouble, and I was distressed in my mind about it. At length I considered that I was hired by the year, it was my master bid me do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her, so I wrote the bill of sale. But at the executing of it I was depressed in my mind and said before my master and the Friend that I believed slavekeeping to be a practise inconsistent with the Christian religion; saying so abated my uneasiness; yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it I thought I should have been clearer if, leaving all consequences, I had craved to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was.

Some time after a young man of our Society spoke to

me to write an instrument of slavery, he having lately taken a Negro into his house. After a short prayer I told him I was not easy to write it, for though many people kept slaves in our Society as well as others, and seemed easy in it, I however could not see it to be right, and craved to be excused from it. I spoke to him in goodwill and he told me that keeping slaves was not clearly agreeable to his mind, but that the slave was a gift to his wife from some of her friends, and so we parted.

CHAPTER TWO

First religious journey; thoughts on moderation in business; learns tailoring; first journey to the South and first journey to New England.

My esteemed friend Abraham Farrington* being about to make a visit to Woodbridge and thereaway asked me to bear him company, and after a conference with some friends I agreed to go. We set off 25th day 9th month [November],[1] 1743, had an evening Meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our Society dwelt; the room was full and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy and had an evening Meeting in the Court House to which came many people, among whom was several of the Assembly (they then sitting there) in both which places my companion was enlarged to preach in the love of the gospel.

Thence we went on, had twelve other Meetings several of which were made up chiefly of the Presbyterians. My dear friend was frequently strengthened to hold forth the word of life amongst the people. On my part I was pretty often silent through the Meeting, and when I spoke it was with much care that I might speak only what Truth required. My mind was often tender, and I

[1] The calendar changed (i.e. was "corrected" by British Act of Parliament) in September 1752, by the elimination of eleven days. March, up to then the first month of the calendar year, still remains the first month of the fiscal year.

learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned and which was attended with some difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable Friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult. After some days deliberation, and inwardly seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject, so that I expressed what lay upon me in a way which became my youth and his years; and though it was a hard task to me it was well taken, and I believe was useful to us both.

Having been several years with my master, and he doing less at trading than heretofore, I was thoughtful what way I should take for a living in case I should settle.

Merchandise was attended with some circumstances which to me appeared difficult; my mind by the power of truth was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I had learned to be content with real conveniences that were not costly; that a way of life pretty free from much cumber appeared the most agreeable, though the income was small. I had several offers of business that looked profitable, but there appeared too great a share of cumber to attend it. I saw that a humble man might with the blessing of Providence live on a little; and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving, but that

with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind to so pass my time as to things outward that nothing might hinder my strict attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My master, though now a shopkeeper, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant man who worked at it in his house. My business in the shop growing slack, it came in my mind to learn the tailor's trade, thinking by this, and a little shopkeeping, a plain man might live without the load of great business, and have opportunity for retirement and inward recollection.

I mentioned it to my employer and we soon agreed on terms, and at all leisure times I worked with his man.

I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business and was taught to be content with it though it was reverse to the creaturely will. I saw the happiness of humility and laboured for it, and in this labour I was often in supplication to the Most High and in some of these private exercises my mind was so environed with Heavenly Light and consolation that it made things easy which had been otherways.

A few years after, my employer's wife died, and he leaving shopkeeping we parted, and I wrought at my trade; constantly attending our Meetings for worship and discipline, and found the love of God to increase in my mind. And in that I felt a concern to visit friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Being thoughtful about a companion, I mentioned it to my beloved friend Isaac Andrews,* who then told me he had drawings there, and also to Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. After several conferences I felt easy to accompany him throughout, if way opened

for it. I acquainted Friends at our Monthly Meeting with the case exactly as it was; and Friends being easy for me to go, we had certificates from our respective Monthly Meetings to travel as companions, and set off the 12th day 3rd month [May 12 O.S.], 1746, he from Haddonfield and I from Burlington.

We had several Meetings in the upper parts of Chester County and near Lancaster, in some of which the love of Christ prevailed, uniting us together in His service. Thence we crossed the Susquehanna, had several Meetings in a new settlement called the Red Lands, the oldest of which was within ten years. It is the poorer sort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deserts. With a small stock, they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate. Friends who visit such may well sympathise with them in their hardships in the wilderness. But to express uneasiness at coarse entertainment when in good-will they give us their best does not become the disciples of Christ. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our Heavenly Father, and the sweet influence of His Spirit was felt among us, to Him be the praise.

We passed on to Manoquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanando, and had Meetings that were edifying. From Shanando we set off in the afternoon for the old settlements in Virginia. The first night we with our pilot lodged in the woods, our horses feeding by us. He being poorly provided with a horse for travelling, we being young and having good horses, were free the next day to part with him, and did so. Once in a while we met with a house and inquired, and for our money took such refreshment as the people had, and in two days besides the first afternoon we reached to our friend John Cheadles.

We took the Meetings in course through Virginia; were in some degree baptized into a feeling sense of the conditions of the people. The pure lamblike nature of Jesus Christ being too much departed from by many of them, our exercise in general was somewhat painful. Yet through the goodness of our Heavenly Father the well of living waters was at times opened to our encouragement and the refreshment of the sincere-hearted. We went on to Perquimans, in North Carolina; had several large Meetings and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance among the young people. Afterwards we turned again to Virginia, and attended most of the Meetings which we had not been at before, labouring amongst Friends in the love of Jesus Christ as ability was given. Thence went to the mountains, up James River to a new settlement, and had several Meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our Society. In our journeying to and fro we found some honest-hearted Friends who appeared to be concerned for the cause of truth among a back-sliding people.

From Virginia we crossed over the river Potomac at Hoe's Ferry, and made a general visit to the Meetings of Friends on the western shore of Maryland, were also at their Quarterly Meeting at Herring Creek. We had some hard labour amongst them, endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened in the love of truth.

Thence, taking sundry Meetings in our way, we passed towards home, which through the favour of Divine Providence we reached the 16th of 6th Month [August], 1746, having been out three months and four days and travelled by estimation fifteen hundred miles. And I may say that through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires, my companion and I travelled in

harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey; first, in regard to my entertainment. When I ate, drunk and lodged free-cost with people that lived in ease on the toil of their slaves I felt uneasy, and as my mind was inward I found from place to place this uneasiness to return upon me through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a considerable share of the burden, and living on moderate expenses made their servants labour moderately and live pretty well, I felt some easier; but where they lived in a costly way, a'quitted labour and laid the whole on their slaves, my exercise was sore, and I frequently had conversation with them in private concerning it. Secondly, this trade of importing slaves from Guinea being so much encouraged among them; and the white people living so much without labour, the nature of this trade to Guinea and the tendency of it in these southern colonies was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts. And I saw so many vices and corruptions spreading, in a great measure occasioned by this trade and way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many do willingly run into it, yet in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it appeared to me not once nor twice but as a matter fixed in my mind.

Soon after my return home I felt an increasing concern for Friends on our sea-coast. On the 8th of 8th month, 1746, I left home with the unity of Friends in company with my friend Peter Andrews,* brother to my companion before mentioned, and made a visit to friends at most of the Meetings about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbor, and so along the sea-coast. We were out

twenty-two days and rode by computation three hundred and forty miles.

This winter died my oldest sister Elizabeth Woolman, Jr.* with the small pox, aged thirty-one years. She was from her youth of a thoughtful disposition and remarkably compassionate to her acquaintance in their sickness or any distress, being ready to help as far as she could.[2]

Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit Friends in New England and thereaway, and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews, we obtained certificates from our Monthly Meeting and set forward on the 16th of 3rd Month [May], 1747. We reached the Yearly Meeting at Long Island, on which were our friends Samuel Nottingham* from England, John Griffith,* Jane Hoskins,* and Elizabeth Hudson* from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews* from Chesterfield, several of whom were favoured in their public exercise; and through the goodness of the Lord we had some edifying meetings. After this Samuel, John and Jacob went toward Rhode Island, and we continued to visit the Meetings of Friends on this Island (i.e. Long Island) and through the mercies of the Almighty we were helped in the work.[3]

Besides going to the settled Meetings of Friends we were at a general Meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other Societies; we had also a Meeting at Oyster Bay, in a dwelling house, at which were many people. At the former there was not much said by way of testimony, but it was I believe a good meeting; at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thank-

[2] For further particulars concerning the life and death of Elizabeth Woolman see *John Woolman, American Quaker.*

[3] Here ends the First Quarto Manuscript.

fully remembered. Having visited the Island, we went over to the Main, taking meetings in our way, to Oblong, Nine-Partners, and New Milford. In these back settlements we met with several people who through the immediate workings of the Spirit of Christ on their minds were drawn from the vanities of the world to an inward acquaintance with Him. They were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that society, used often to spend their time together in merriment, but some of the principal young men of the company, being visited by the powerful workings of the Spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up His cross, could no longer join in those vanities. As these stood steadfast to their inward convincement, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions; so that through the power of truth several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls. These young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship; and besides that, had meetings of their own, which meetings were awhile approved by their preacher, who sometimes met with them; but in time their judgement in matter of religion disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that Society; and such as then stood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through. In a while their meetings were dropped; some of them returned to the Presbyterians, and others joined to our religious Society.

I had conversation with some of the latter to my health and edification, and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship which is performed in spirit and truth. From thence accompanied

by Amos Powell,* a Friend from Long Island, we rode through the Colony of Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by Presbyterians, who were generally civil in their conduct so far as I saw. After three days riding we came amongst Friends in the Colony of Rhode Island. We visited Friends in and about Newport and Dartmouth generally and then to Boston and proceeded eastward as far as Dover. Not far from thence we met our friend Thomas Gawthrop,* from England, who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket, was there near a week, and from thence came over to Dartmouth. Having finished our visits in those parts, we crossed the Sound from New London to Long Island, and taking some meetings on the Island proceeded homeward where we reached 13th of 7th Month [September], 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles and sailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey I may say in general we were sometimes in much weakness, and laboured under discouragements, and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of Divine love, we had seasons of refreshment wherein the power of Truth prevailed. We were taught by renewed experience to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the spirit of Truth, and utter that to the people which Truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged both to one Meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work. He was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burden, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding some concern to visit Friends in the lower counties on Delaware, and on the eastern shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my ancient

and well beloved friend John Sykes,* we obtained certificates, and set off the 7th of 8th Month [October], 1748, were at the meetings of Friends in the lower counties, attended the Yearly Meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to the chief[3] of the Meetings on the eastern shore, and so home by the way of Nottingham. We were abroad about six weeks and rode by computation about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exercise at times was heavy but through the goodness of the Lord we were often refreshed, and I may say by experience "He is a stronghold in the day of trouble." Though our Society in these parts appeared to me to be in a declining condition yet I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them who labour to serve Him in uprightness, but have many difficulties to encounter.

[3] John Woolman uses "the chief of" as Jane Austen does to mean "most of."

CHAPTER THREE

1749–1756

His marriage. Death of his father. "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" in preparation. Refuses to write wills perpetuating slavery. Examines business practice and determines on moderation. A letter to a friend.

About this time, believing it good for me to settle and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that He would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeable to His will, and He was pleased to give me a well inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis,* to whom I was married the 18th day of 8th Month [October], 1749.[1]

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years. In his lifetime he manifested much care for us his children that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord, often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of mercy and tenderness, not only towards poor people but also towards all creatures which we had command of.

[1] For account of the courtship and marriage, and parentage and education of Sarah Ellis see *John Woolman, American Quaker.*

After my return from Carolina in 1746 I made some observations on keeping slaves which I had some time before showed him, and he perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account. In his last sickness as I was watching with him one night, he then so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript and whether I expected soon to offer it to the Overseers of the Press; and after some conversation thereon he said, "I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the poor Negroes; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever."

By his direction I had written his will in a time of health, and that night he desired me to read it to him, which I did, and he said it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end which he believed now near, and signified that though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of Truth and the love and goodness of God from time to time, even till now, was such that he had no doubt that on leaving this life he should enter into a life more happy.

The next day his sister Elizabeth[2] came to see him and told him of the decease of their sister Anne[3] who died a few days before. He then said, "I reckon sister Anne was free to leave this world." Elizabeth said she was. He then said, "I also am free to leave it"; and being in great weakness of body he said in a solemn manner, "I hope I shall shortly go to rest." He continued in a weighty frame of mind and was sensible till near the last.

[2] Mrs. John Harvey.
[3] Mrs. John Buffin.

2nd of 9th Month, 1751.—Feeling an openness in my mind to visit Friends at the Great Meadows in the upper part of this province, with the unity of our Monthly Meeting I went there, and had some searching laborious exercise amongst the inhabitants of that place, but found inward peace therein; was out nine days and rode about one hundred seventy miles.

In the Ninth Month, 1753, in company with my well esteemed friend John Sykes, and with the unity of Friends, we travelled about two weeks visiting the Meetings of Friends in Bucks County. We laboured in the love of the gospel according to the measure received; and through the mercies of Him that is strength to the poor who trust in Him, we found satisfaction in our visit. And in the winter ensuing, way opening to visit Friends' families within the compass of our Monthly Meeting, partly by the labours of two friends from Pennsylvania, I joined some part, having had a desire some years to see it go forward.

About this time a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves, and asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, as offending sober people is disagreeable to me, I was straitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord He inclined my heart to His testimony, and I told the man that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to these people was not right, and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind; that though many in our Society kept them slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned with it, and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord, and he made no reply to what I said but went away;

he himself had some concerns in the practise and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had a fresh confirmation that acting contrary to present outward interest from sincere regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurring the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure which is better than silver, and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

On the 7th day of the 2nd Month 1754 at night, I dreamed that I was walking in an orchard. It appeared to be about the middle of the afternoon, when on a sudden I saw two lights in the east, resembling two suns, but of a dull and gloomy aspect. The one appeared about the height of the sun at three hours high, and the other more northward and one-third lower. In a few minutes the air in the east appeared to be mingled with fire, and like a terrible storm coming westward the stream of fire reached the orchard where I stood, but I felt no harm. I then found one of my acquaintance standing near me, who was greatly distressed in mind at this unusual appearance. My mind felt calm, and I said to my friend, "We must all once die, and if it please the Lord that our death be in this way, it's good for us to be resigned." Then I walked to a house hard by, and going upstairs saw people with sad and troubled aspects, amongst whom I passed into another room, where the floor was only some loose boards. There I sat down alone by a window and looking out saw in the south three great red streams, standing at equal distance from each other, the bottom of which appeared to stand on the earth, and the top to reach above the region of the clouds. Across those three streams went less ones, and from each end of each small stream others pointing in regular lines to the earth, all

red, and appeared to extend through the whole southern firmament like this figure.[4] There then appeared on a green plain a great multitude of men in a military posture, some of whom I knew. They came near the house, and passing on westward, some of them looking up at me, expressed themselves in a scoffing way, to which I made no reply; soon after an old Captain of the Militia came to me, and I was told these men were assembled to improve in the discipline of war.[5]

The manuscript before mentioned[6] having lain by me for several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me, and this year I offered it to the Overseers of the Press, who having examined and made some small alterations in it, ordered a number of copies thereof to be published by the Yearly Meeting stock and dispersed among Friends.

In the year 1754 I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to Friends' families belonging to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, and having the approbation of our own, I went to their Monthly Meeting in order to confer with Friends, and see if way opened for it. I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one Friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness. I kept my distress secret, and going with a friend to his house, my desires

[4] John Woolman drew a diagram here but requested that it should not be printed.

[5] This dream appears in the Folio, but was not printed in the Whittier edition.

[6] The one concerning slavery which he read his father on his death bed.

were to the great Shepherd for His heavenly instruction. In the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, though very low in my mind. And as mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before Him, He was pleased graciously to afford help, so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service, part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of which was at Shrewsbury, in company with my friend, John Sykes; and I have cause humbly to acknowledge that through the goodness of the Lord our hearts were at times enlarged in His love, and strength was given to go through the trials which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent, and an epistle to Friends went forth from our general Spring Meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this Journal.

An Epistle from our general Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the 29th of the third month to the 1st of the fourth month inclusive, 1755.

To Friends on the Continent of America:—

Dear Friends,—In an humble sense of Divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly salute you, and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the truth, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that Life which is the light of men, and be strength-

ened to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers." (Isaiah 40:22.)

Being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending His Son into the world was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that His kingdom might come, and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven, we have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests which are productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him, the Most High, whose tender love to His children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to His seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." (Heb. 13:5.) And we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God have had experience of that work which is carried on, "not by earthly might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." (Zech. 4:6.) By which operation that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever. In a deep sense thereof and of the safety, stability, and peace that are in it, we are desirous that all who profess the truth may be inwardly acquainted with it and thereby be qualified to conduct ourselves in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession; and we trust as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth" (Zech. 9:10), to the completion of those prophecies already begun, that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more" (Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3).

And, dearly beloved friends, seeing that we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly possessions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that resignation and entire trust in God to which His blessing is most surely annexed; then

may we say, "Our Redeemer is mighty, He will plead our cause for us." (Jer. 1:34.) And if, for the further promoting of his most gracious purposes in the earth, He should give us to taste of that bitter cup of which His faithful ones have often partaken, Oh that we might be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat, but repose ourselves in the munition of that rock which all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to His heavenly will, and feeling it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world; for the worldly part in any is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made the partakers of the spirit of it; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, shall rejoice in the midst of adversity, and have to experience with the prophet, that, "although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet will they rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of their salvation." (Hab. 3:17, 18.)

If, contrary to this, we profess the truth, and, not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves, our confidence therein will be vain. For He who removed the hedge from His vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot by reason of the wild grapes it produced (Isaiah 5:6), remains unchangeable; and if, for the chastisement of wickedness and the further promoting of His own glory, He doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose Him, and prosper?

We remain, in the love of the Gospel, your friends and brethren. (Signed by fourteen Friends).

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves has been a means of sundry small trials to me in which I have so evidently felt my own will set aside that I think it good to mention a few of them. Tradesmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their business for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good-will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under a necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and such more especially as have a good character. Deep rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of all to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable, benevolent man, well acquainted with a Negro, may, I believe, under some circumstances keep him in his family as a servant on no other motive than the Negro's good; but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor has he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness necessary in every absolute governor; hence it is clear to me that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn in which some children are made absolute masters over others during life.

About this time an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood came to my house to get his will wrote. He had young Negroes and I asking him privately how he purposed to dispose of them, he told me; I then said "I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace," and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have wrote it, but as I could not, consistent with my conscience, he did not desire it, and so he got it wrote by some other person, and a few years after, (passing over time to finish the relation) there being great alterations in his family, he came again

to get me to write his will. His Negroes were yet young, and his son, to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine become a sober young man, and he supposed that I would have been free on that account to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it, and a few days after he came again and directed their freedom, so then I wrote his will.

Near the time the last mentioned friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body and sent for me to bleed him, which being done he desired me to write his will. I took notes and amongst other things he told me to which of his children he gave his young Negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end, so I wrote his will save only that part concerning his slave and carrying it to his bedside read it to him, and then told him in a friendly way that I could not write any instruments by which my fellow creatures were made slaves without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done, and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed. Then we had a serious conference on the subject, and at length, he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to visit Friends on Long Island, after having obtained a certificate from our Monthly Meeting I set off 12th, 5th Month, 1756.

When I reached the island I lodged the first night at the house of my dear friend Richard Hallett.* The next day being the first of the week, I was at the meeting in New Town, in which we experienced the renewed manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ to the comfort of the honest-hearted. I went that night to Flushing, and

the next day I and my beloved friend Matthew Franklin crossed the ferry at White Stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the island, where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings.

The Lord, I believe, hath a people in those parts who are honestly concerned to serve him; but many I fear are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing the cross in such faithfulness as the Almighty calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private, and at several places where I was, observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity in a friendly way to labour with them on that subject; expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practise with the purity of the Christian religion, and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week their Yearly Meetings began; at which were our friends John Scarboro,* Jane Hoskins, and Susanna Brown* from Pennsylvania. The public Meetings were large. The exercise of my mind at this Meeting was chiefly on the account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the Society; and in a Meeting of Ministers and Elders way opened that I expressed in some measure what lay upon me; and when Friends were met for transacting the public business, we setting awhile silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and through the gracious condescension of our heavenly Father strength was given fully to clear my mind of a burden which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for His service. The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable

to the people, and so reverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach, and in the weakness of nature he thought to desist from his prophetic office; but saith he: "His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forebearing and could not stay." I saw at this time that if I was honest to declare that which truth opened in me I could not please all men, and laboured to be content in the way of my duty however disagreeable to my own inclinations. After this I went homeward having been out twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.

While I was out on this journey my heart was deeply affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces, and believing the Lord was calling me to some further labour amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before Him with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself up to His heavenly will.

Until the year 1756 I continued to retail goods besides following my trade as a tailor, about which time I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I began with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell clothes and linens; and at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the road to large business appeared open, but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty I had in a good degree learned to be content with a plain way of living. I had but a small family; and on serious reflection, believed truth did not require me to engage in much cumbering affairs. It had generally been my practice to buy and sell things really useful. Things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people I was not easy

to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did I found it weaken me as a Christian.

The increase in business became my burden; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandise, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers. There was now a strife in my mind betwixt the two, and in this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me and gave me a heart resigned to His holy will. Then I lessened my outward business, and as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intention that they might consider what shop to turn to; and in a while I wholly laid down merchandise, following my trade as a tailor myself only, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple-trees, in which I spent a good deal of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming and inoculating.

In merchandise it is the custom where I lived to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt and when payment is expected have not wherewith to pay, and their creditors sue for it at law. Having frequently observed occurrences of this kind I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful and not costly.

In the course of my trading, being somewhat affected with the various law-suits about collecting money which I saw going forward, on applying to a constable he gave me a list of his proceedings for one year as follows to wit, served two-hundred-and-sixty-seven warrants, one hundred and three summonses and seventy-nine executions. As to writs served by the sheriff, I got no account of them. I once had a warrant for an idle man who I believed was about to run away, which was the only time I applied to the law to recover money.

In the time of trading I had an opportunity of seeing that too liberal use of spirituous liquors and the custom of wearing too costly apparel led some people into great inconveniences; and these two things appear to be often connected one with another. For by not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness there is an increase of labour which extends beyond what our Heavenly Father intends for us. And by great labour and often by much sweating in the heat there is, even among such as are not drunkards, a craving of some liquor to revive the spirits; that partly by the wanton, luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others led to it through immoderate labour, very great quantities of rum are annually expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

When men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understanding, neglect their duty as members of a family or civil society, and cast off all pretense to religion, their case is much to be pitied. And where such whose lives are for the most part regular and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw toward the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom directeth, this also, as it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers, is a case to be lamented.

As the least degree of luxury hath some connection with evil, for those who profess to be disciples of Christ and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them which was also in Him, and so stand

separate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat and taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience that the mind in such circumstance is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for divine meditation, as when all such extremes are avoided, and felt an increasing care to attend to that Holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires, and leads those who faithfully follow it to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did such who have the care of great estates attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind that men love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage without finding occasion to employ some people in providing the luxuries of life or to make it necessary for others to labor too hard. But for want of regarding steadily this principle of Divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ, yet through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandise for a living have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe; "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

The winter of 1756 I was several times with friends in visiting families and through the goodness of the Lord we had often experience of His heart-tendering presence amongst us.

A Copy of a Letter Written to a Friend

"In this thy late affliction I've found a deep fellow-feeling with thee, and had a secret hope throughout that it might please the Father of Mercies to raise thee up and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish may feel the clothing of divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting truth.

We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy find an impossibility to advance forward, but things impossible with men are possible with God, and our wills being made subject to His, all temptations are surmountable.

This work of subjecting the will is compared to the mineral in the furnace, which, through fervent heat, is reduced from its first principle. "He refines them as silver is refined; He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver." By these comparisons we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us to prepare our hearts truly to adore Him and manifest that adoration by inwardly turning away from that spirit, in all its workings, which is not of Him. To forward this work the all-wise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death, that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction which otherwise would not be received. If

kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then He who is perfect goodness, in sending abroad mortal contagions does assuredly direct their use. Are the righteous removed by it? Their change is happy. Are the wicked taken away in their wickedness? The Almighty is clear. Do we pass through it with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover? He intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now, on thy part, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again restored, forget not Him who hath helped thee, but in humble gratitude hold fast His instructions, thereby to shun those by-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company to which one in thy business must be exposed. I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can sympathize with others in such conflicts; much weakness still attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and to commit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men who take offense at the simplicity of truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a snare. By halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd, that when we look at the way of the righteous it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

A love clothes my mind while I write which is superior to all expression; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation to advance forward in Christian firm-

ness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark, and as we enter into it we find safety and true exaltation. The foolishness of God is wiser than man and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom and knowing the abasement of the creature, we find that part to arise which gives health and vigor to us."

CHAPTER FOUR

1757–1758

Visit to Burlington, and dream. Second Southern journey. Epistle to new settlers. Concern for education of Negroes. Conversation re war tax. A night in the forest.

13th 5th Month 1757—being then in good health and abroad with Friends visiting families, I lodged at a Friend's house in Burlington, and going to bed about the time usual I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord, in a sense whereof my heart was contrite. After this I went to sleep again, and sleeping a short time I awoke; it was yet dark, and no appearance of day nor moonshine, and as I opened my eyes I saw a light in the chamber, at the apparent distance of about five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear, easy brightness, and near the center the most radiant. As I lay still without any surprise looking upon it, words were spoken to my inward ear which filled my whole inward man, and were not the effect of thought nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoken in my mind. The words were, CERTAIN EVIDENCE OF DIVINE TRUTH. They were again repeated exactly in the same manner, whereupon the light disappeared.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit in the South-

ern parts to increase upon me, I acquainted our Monthly Meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate to go alone. One of my brothers[1] who lived in Philadelphia having some business in North Carolina proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion was some difficulty with me, whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times. At length feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject, and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the Fifth month 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day Meeting, we lodged at John Churchman's,* where I met with our friend Benjamin Buffington,* from New England, who was returning from a visit to the Southern Provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehanna, and lodged at William Cox's,* in Maryland.

Soon after I entered this Province a deep and painful exercise came upon me which I had often had some feeling of since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on a visit to have entertainment free cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my own money by kindness which to me appears to be the gain of oppression. Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obliga-

[1] Uriah Woolman. *See* Appendix E.

tions to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias was that divine prohibition—"Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the eyes of the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous." As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the gospel was considered at a cost equal to their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet in regard to my present journey I could not see my way clear in that respect. The odds appeared thus; the entertainment the disciples met with was from such whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them and the truth they published; but we, considered as members of the same Society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language, and where people by their actions manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some Friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and of being so distinguished from many whom I esteem before myself, brought me very low, and such were the conflicts of my soul that I had a near sympathy with the prophet in the time of his weakness, when he said—"If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight." Then I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to Him. Many were the afflictions which attended me, and in great abase-

ment, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for His gracious and fatherly assistance, and then after a time of deep trial I was favored to understand the state mentioned by the Psalmist more clearly than ever I had before, to wit—"My soul is even as a weaned child." Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord, as I faithfully attended to Him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties, and that by His strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of the Society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting of it would obstruct that work to which I believed He had called me. And as I copy this after my return from that journey, I may here add that oftentimes I did so under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus; when I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving some money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver and give them to such of their Negroes as they believed would make the best use of them; and at other times I gave them to the Negroes myself, according as the way looked clearest to me. As I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces of silver, and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people was a trial both to me and them. But the exercise of my mind was such and the fear of the Lord so covered me at times that way was made easier than I expected, and few, if any, manifested any resentment of the offer, and most of them, after some little talk, accepted of them.

9th of 5th month—Breakfasted at a Friend's house who afterwards putting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves, in which my heart was tender, and I used much plainness of speech with him, which he appeared to take it kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road I often felt a cry rise from the center of my mind thus—"Oh Lord, I am a stranger in the earth, hide not Thy face from me." On the 11th we crossed the rivers at Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal. On the way, happening in company with a Colonel of the Militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life. He concurred in the remark, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the Negroes, adding that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied that free men whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in the improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but Negroes, labouring to support those who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation I said that men having power too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the Negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally. This he did not deny, but said the

lives of the Negroes were so wretched in their own country that many of them lived better here than there. I only said, "There's great odds in regard to us on what principle we act"; and so the conversation on that head ended. I may here add that another person some time afterwards mentioned the wretchedness of the Negroes occasioned by their intestine wars as an argument in favor of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I replied, if compassion for the Africans, on account of their domestic troubles, was the real motive of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to would incite us to use them kindly, that as strangers brought out of affliction their lives might be happy among us. And as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the Holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein; but while we manifest by our conduct that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves, and while our buying captives taken in war animates those parties to push on that war and increase desolation amongst them, to say they live unhappy in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour. I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burdensome stone to such as burden themselves with them; and that if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their own outward prospect of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier until times change in a way disagreeable to us. At which the person appeared very serious and acknowledged that in considering their condition and the manner of their

treatment in these provinces he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty to so order it.

Having travelled on a direct line through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia on the 12th; and the next day rode in company with several of them a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the want of Divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me, and in an uncommon distress of mind I cried in secret to the Most High, "Oh Lord be merciful, I beseech Thee, to Thy poor afflicted creature!" After some time I felt inward relief, and soon after a friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the Negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark of God set upon him after he murdered Abel his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which I replied as follows; that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families, being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations, and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose that they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife,

no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family before Ham married the second time; moreover the text saith expressly "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth." I further reminded them how the prophets repeatedly declare "That the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations, and in some pressure of spirit said, "The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I've no interest on either side save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth. I believe liberty is their right, and as I see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He who is a refuge for the oppressed will, in His own time, plead their cause, and happy will it be for such as walk in uprightness before Him." Thus our conversation ended.

14th of 5th month—I was this day at Camp Creek Monthly Meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James River and had a Meeting at a Friend's house, in both which I felt sorrow of heart and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength by which way opened to clear my mind amongst Friends in those places. From thence I went to Fork Creek, and so to Cedar Creek again, at which place I now had a Meeting. Here I found a tender seed and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the truth, the same truth in their heart answered it, that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, father of William Standley,* one of the young men who suffered

imprisonment at Winchester last summer on account of their testimony against fighting, and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it.

Hence I went to the Swamp Meeting, and to Wayanoke Meeting, and then crossed James River, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me that my mind was almost overwhelmed, and I may say with the Psalmist, "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God," who, in infinite goodness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief, for which I humbly bless His holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches brought a weight of distress upon me. The gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed, and though this is the case too generally yet the sense of it in these parts hath in a particular manner borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world the minds of many were brought to an inward desolation, and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness and the love of dominion too generally prevailed. From small beginnings in error great buildings by degrees are raised, and from one age to another are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people; and as men of reputation depart from the truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favor of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judea arrive to that height in wickedness as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to

declare, in the name of the Lord, "that none called for justice nor pleaded for the truth," or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem just before the Babylonish captivity, to find a man who executed judgment, that sought the truth, and He would pardon it?

The prospect of a road lying open to the same degeneracy in some parts of this newly settled land of America in respect to our conduct towards the Negroes hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey, and though to briefly relate how these people are treated is no agreeable work, yet, after reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them. Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of Negro marriages; and when Negroes marry after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages that with views of outward interest they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder, which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. Many whose labour is heavy being followed in the field by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else to eat but one peck of Indian corn and some salt, for one week, with a few potatoes; and the latter they commonly raise by their labour on the first day of the week. The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarce clothes sufficient to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls ten and twelve years old are often stark naked amongst their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the society called Newlights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are a people by

whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life. These are a people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of. These are the souls for whom Christ died, and for our conduct towards them we must answer before that Almighty Being who is no respecter of persons. They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, Gospel Spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty, and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh Meeting, where I felt my mind drawn in a quiet, resigned state. After long silence I felt an engagement to stand up, and through the powerful operation of Divine Love we were favoured with an edifying meeting. Next we had a meeting at Black Water, and so to the Yearly Meeting at the Western Branch. When business began, some queries were introduced by some of their members for consideration, and if approved, they were to be answered hereafter by their respective Monthly Meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a Committee of Virginia Yearly Meeting appointed the last year, who made some alterations in them, one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me. The query was: "Are there any concerned in the importation of Negroes, or buying them after imported?" which they altered thus: "Are there any concerned in the importation of Negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was: "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlaw-

fully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say that as we profess the truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned their alteration, and referring to the last mentioned query, added, that as purchasing any merchandise taken by the sword was always allowed to be inconsistent with our principles, so Negroes being captives of war, or taken by stealth, those circumstances make it inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow creatures who are sold as slaves added greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was said; some expressed a care and concern about their Negroes; none made any objection, by way of answer to what I had said, but the query was admitted as they had altered it.

As some of their members have heretofore traded in Negroes, as in other merchandise, this query being admitted will be one step further than they have heretofore gone, and I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration, but felt easy to leave all to Him who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty and make way for the spreading of truth in the earth by means agreeable to His infinite wisdom. But in regard to those they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them, and said that as we believed the Scriptures were given forth by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our children to read them, I believe that if we were divested of all selfish views the same good spirit that gave them forth would engage us to teach the Negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them. Some

amongst them manifested a concern to take more care in the education of their Negroes.

29th of 5th month and First of the week, in the house where I lodged was a meeting of ministers and elders at the ninth hour of the morning. I found an engagement to speak freely and plainly to them concerning their slaves, mentioning as it opened on my mind how they, as the first rank in the Society, whose conduct in that case was much noticed by others, were under the stronger obligations to look carefully to themselves, expressing how needful it was for them in that situation to be thoroughly divested of all selfish views; that living in the pure truth, and acting conscientiously towards those people in their education and otherwise, they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so exceeding necessary, and so much neglected amongst them. At the twelfth hour the meeting for worship began, which was a solid meeting.

The next day about the tenth hour Friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship ensued, which to me was a laborious time; but through the goodness of the Lord, truth, I believed, gained some ground, and it was a strengthening opportunity to the honest-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to Friends in the back settlements of North Carolina, as follows:—

To Friends at Their Monthly Meeting at New Garden and Cane Creek in North Carolina:—

Dear Friends,—It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and North Carolina, you have

often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of truth. First, my dear Friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being single to the Lord you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits and seeking the friendships of this world than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace, they walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting. Their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treasures thus collected do many times prove dangerous snares to their children.

But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of His Holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through a Divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others. In this condition, through the spreading influence of Divine love, they feel a care over the flock, and way is opened for maintaining good order in the Society. And though we meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle, peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth come fresh in my way. Dear young people, choose God for your portion, love His truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such as serve Him in uprightness and shun as most dangerous the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill savour; for by frequenting such company some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater, to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we partake of in fully resigning ourselves to the Divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually ac-

quainted with it; and as your minds are thus seasoned with the truth, you will find strength to abide steadfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech you, in the love of Jesus Christ, to wisely consider the force of your examples, and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country, yea, a great favour and a blessing, when customs first settled are agreeable to sound wisdom; but when they are otherwise the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of pure wisdom, is useful both to mind and body, so by this means in general the real wants in life are easily attained, our gracious Father having so proportioned the one to the other that keeping in the true medium we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labour numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them; which affects the family and such who claim the mastery over them. Thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there are a large number of Friends in your parts who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love I now beseech you not to purchase any. Look, my dear friends, to Divine Providence and follow in simplicity that exercise of body, that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such who are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on a true principle of virtue are sweet in the possession; and while we walk in the light of the Lord there is true comfort and satisfaction. Neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor a throbbing, uneasy conscience, nor anxious thought about the event of things, hinder the enjoyment of them.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors, if we know that it

was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before Him, we may consider it as His gift to us, and, with a single eye to His blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain ways of true virtue. "The works of righteousness are peace; the effects of righteousness are quietness and assurance for ever."

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us; for He is a stronghold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in Him.

I am in true love your friend

JOHN WOOLMAN

Isle of Wight County, in Virginia,
20th of the 5th month, 1757.

From the Yearly Meeting in Virginia I went to North Carolina, and on the 1st of sixth month was at Wells Creek Monthly Meeting, where the spring of the Gospel ministry was opened, and the love of Jesus Christ experienced among us; to His name be the praise.

As the neglected condition of the poor slaves often affects my mind, Meetings for Discipline have seemed to me suitable places to express what the Holy Spirit may open on that subject, and though in this meeting they were much in my mind, I found no engagement to speak concerning them, and therefore kept silence, finding by experience that to keep pace with the gentle motions of Truth, and never move but as that opens the way, is necessary for the true servants of Christ.

Here my brother joined with some Friends from New Garden who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons Creek Monthly Meeting. Here I was silent during the meeting for worship. When business came on,

my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves, but did not feel my way clear to speak. In this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord, and with tears and inward supplication besought Him to so open my understanding that I might know His will concerning me; and, at length, my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business a member of their meeting expressed a concern that had some time lain upon him, on account of Friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves, and proposed having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a weekday, to be only attended by some Friends to be named in their Monthly Meeting. Many present appeared to unite with the proposal. One said he had often wondered at it that they, being our fellow-creatures, and capable of religious understanding, had been so exceedingly neglected; another expressed the like concern, and appeared zealous that Friends in future might more closely consider it. At length a minute was made, and the further consideration of it referred to their next Monthly Meeting. The Friend who made this proposal hath Negroes; he told me that he was at New Garden, about two hundred and fifty miles of home, and came home alone; and that in this solitary journey this exercise, in regard to the education of their Negroes, was from time to time renewed in his mind. A Friend of some note in Virginia, who hath slaves, told me that he being far from home on a lonesome journey had many serious thoughts about them; and then believed that he saw a time coming when Divine Providence would alter the circumstances of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to Newbegun Creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness: then I felt truth open

the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, till at length, through the increase of Divine Love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. This was also the case at the head of Little River, where we had a crowded meeting on a First Day. I went thence to the Old Neck, where I was led into a careful searching out of the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. Piney Woods was the last meeting I was at in Carolina. It was large, and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a fervent labour amongst them.

When I was at Newbegun Creek, a Friend was there who laboured for his living, having no Negroes, and who had been a minister many years. He came to me the next day, and as we rode together he signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, which he related nearly as follows. That as moneys had of late years been raised by a tax to carry on the wars, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and chose rather to suffer distraint of goods; but as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstance, he signified that it had been a heavy trial upon him, the more so for that some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case. He added that from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in Meeting he found a freedom thus to open the matter in the way of querying concerning Friends in our parts. I told him the state of Friends amongst us as well as I was able and also that I had for some time been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before

the Lord, and esteemed it my duty to preserve this memorandum concerning him, Samuel Newby.*

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Copeland's; it was a time of inward suffering, but through the goodness of the Lord I was made content; at another meeting, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable season.

Travelling up and down of late I have had renewed evidences that to keep pace with duty, and be content with the allotments of divine Providence, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labour than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by humble resignation, is united to Him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and require close attention to keep in it, and though the manner in which we are led may tend to our abasement; yet if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

I attended Curles Meeting, which, though small, was reviving to the honest-hearted. Afterwards I went to Black Creek and Caroline Meetings, from whence, accompanied by William Standley before mentioned, we rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night at a public-house; the second in the woods; and the next day we reached a Friend's house at Goose Creek. In the woods we were under some disadvantage, having no fireworks nor bells for our horses, but we stopped a little before night and let them feed on the wild grass, which

was plentiful, in the meantime cutting with our knives a store against night, and then tied our horses, and gathering some bushes under an oak we lay down; but the mosquitoes being numerous and the ground damp I slept but little.

Thus lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our first parents when they were sent forth from the garden, and considered that they had no house, no tools for business, no garments but what their Creator gave them, no vessels for use nor any fire to cook roots or herbs, and that the Almighty, though they had been disobedient, was a father to them, and opened in process of time things relative for all the conveniences of life. And He who by the gracious influence of His spirit illuminated their understanding and showed them what was acceptable to Him and tended to their true felicity as intelligent creatures, did also provide means for their happy living in this world as they attended to the manifestations of His wisdom. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom, is good, and the gift of improving in things useful is a good gift, and comes from the Father of Lights. Many have had this gift; and from age to age there have been improvements of this kind made in the world. But some, not keeping to the pure gift, have in creaturely cunning and self exaltation sought out many inventions. As in the first motion these inventions of men, as distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, was evil, so the effects of it have been and are evil. That at this day it is as necessary for us constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents when they

were without any improvements, without any friend or any father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Goose Creek, and next at a Monthly Meeting at Fairfax, where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, His power prevailed over many hearts. From thence I went to Monoquacy and Pipe Creek in Maryland; at both places I had cause humbly to adore Him who had supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others. There were some hopeful young people in those parts. I had meetings afterwards at John Everit's, in Menallen, and at Huntington, and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest-minded.

At Menallen, a Friend where I lodged gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonites, and amongst other things related a passage in substance as follows: One of the Mennonites having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his wagon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him, but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Mennonite, told him of it, adding he should have been heartily welcome at his house, and from their acquaintance in former time wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonite replied, "Ever since I lodged by thy field I've wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. I intended

to have come to thy house for entertainment, but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee." He then admonished him to use them with more humanity, and added, "As I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they have."

In this journey I was about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles. I returned home under an humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me through many trials and afflictions.

CHAPTER FIVE

1757–1758

War tax. Military draft in Mount Holly; problems of conscientious objectors. Soldiers billeted on John Woolman. Slave-keeping discussed in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1755. A minute drawn up more full than any heretofore.

A FEW years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be sunk by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told that Friends in England frequently paid taxes when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conference with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of whom I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the deeps of my mind a scruple which I never could get over; and at certain times I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men who paid such taxes, but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so while I believed that the spirit of truth required of me,

as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods rather than pay actively.

To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid was exceeding disagreeable, but to do a thing contrary to my conscience appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and in my distress I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow Him wheresoever He was pleased to lead me. Under this exercise I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia 1755; at which a committee was appointed of some from each Quarter to correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings in London; and another to visit our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. After this appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed that these two committees should meet together in Friends' schoolhouse in the city, to consider some things in which the cause of truth was concerned. They accordingly had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before mentioned.[1]

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time, I may here note some things which have opened into my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful Friends in early times made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world,

[1] Christians refused to pay taxes to support heathen temples. See *Primitive Christianity,* Part II, p. 327. [Woolman's own note. It should have read: Cave's *Primitive Christianity,* Part III.]

and, suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age to take heed to their own spirit; and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than there is of us now. They had little or no share in civil government, and many of them declared they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were, and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of Truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. The profession of our predecessors was accounted reproachful, but at length their uprightness being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated, and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandise and the sciences amongst which are many things useful, if followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition I believe it will not be denied that a carnal mind is gaining upon us. Some of our members who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars; but being in doubt whether to act or to crave to be excused from their office, if they see their brethren united in a payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, may think their case not much different, and so might quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds. Thus,

by small degrees, we might approach so near to fighting that the distinction would be little else but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded, if, by our fighting, there were a probability of repelling the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it does in some degree feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave His life for us; and through Divine goodness many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson; but many others having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, as to the outward means, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, the said committees met at Philadelphia, and, by adjournments, continued sitting several days. The calamities of war were now increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised; some slain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a wagon, and taken through the streets of the city in his bloody garments, to alarm the people and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax, which, to such who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time might be construed as an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in

England; still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends that nothing moved it. It was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew; other such continued till the last. At length an epistle of tender love and caution to Friends in Pennsylvania was drawn by some Friends concerned on that account, and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such as were free to sign it, and afterwards sent to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

On the 9th of 8th month, 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county (Burlington) directing them to draft the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English[2] at Fort William Henry, in New York government, which was then besieged by a number of French and Indians and in a few days there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draft three times as many, who were to hold themselves in readiness to march whenever fresh orders came. On the 17th there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on a draft, and orders were sent to the men so chosen to meet their respective captains at set times and places, those in our township to

[2] The Colonies were still under the British crown, and the settlers called themselves English, even when, like John Woolman, they were the third or fourth generation born on American soil. The war was part of the Seven Years' War going on in Europe and in which France and England were belligerents. Hence the French colonists in America, using Indians as allies, began disputing ground on the frontiers with the English colonists.

meet at Mount Holly, amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practise doth harmonise with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and in the execution of their office when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience is a painful task, likely to be avoided as much as easily may be. But where men profess to be so meek and heavenly minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God that they cannot join in wars, and yet by their spirit and conduct in common life manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

When officers in great anxiety endeavouring to get troops to answer the commands of their superiors, see men who are insincere pretend scruple of conscience in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, it is likely they will be roughly handled. In this time of commotion some of our young men left and tarried abroad till it was over; some came, and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near. I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. At the set time when the captain came to town, some of the last-mentioned went and told him in substance as follows: That they could not bear arms for conscience' sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event. At length the captain acquainted them all that they might return home for the present,

and required them to provide themselves soldier-like accoutrements such as he mentioned to them[3] and to be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed the trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with resignation to Him. The French army having taken the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away; the company of men first drafted, after some days' march, had orders to return home, and those on the second draft were no more called upon on that occasion.

The 4th of fourth month, 1758, orders came to some officers in Mount Holly to prepare quarters a short time for about one hundred soldiers, and an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house. The officer told me that he came to speak with me to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected I made him no answer suddenly, but sat a time silent, my mind being inward. I was fully convinced that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of religion and to be hired to entertain men who were under pay as soldiers was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time I said to the officer, if the men are sent here for entertainment I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house, but the nature of the case is such that I expect I cannot keep them on hire; one of the men intimated that he thought I might do it consistent to my religious principles. To which I made no reply, as believing silence at

[3] Second Quarto reading, which makes the matter clearer to us today than Woolman's corrected Folio version "as soldiers" hitherto printed.

that time best for me. Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly. When the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me, and as I turned from him, he said he was obliged to me; to which I said nothing; but, thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went to his house and between us two told him on what ground I refused pay for keeping a soldier.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and, in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit, as fully so as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that church. All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse, Jesus Christ appointing to each one his peculiar office, agreeably to His infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors which had crept into the church, in opposition to the Council of Constance, which the historian reports to have consisted of some thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct towards his judges appear to have been respectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words: "This I most humbly require you all, even for His sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again, in his answer to the Emperor: "I refuse nothing, most noble Emperor, whatsoever the

Council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience."[4] At length, rather than conform to a thing reverse to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and the inward spiritual religion; and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ. True charity is an excellent virtue; and to sincerely labour for their good whose belief in all points doth not agree with ours is a happy case.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening, in company with a friend, to visit a sick person; and before we returned we were told of a woman living near who of late had several days together been disconsolate, occasioned by a dream wherein death, and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her mind in a moving manner. Her sadness on that account being worn off, the friend with whom I was in company went to see her and had some religious conversation with her and her husband concerning her manner of life. With this visit they were somewhat affected and the man in particular with many tears expressed his satisfaction. In a short time after the poor man being on the river in a storm of wind, he with one more was drowned.

8th month, 1758.—Having had drawings in my mind to be at the Quarterly Meeting in Chester County, and at some meetings in Philadelphia County, I went first to

[4] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments,* p. 233. [Woolman's own note, corrected from Foxe's.]

said Quarterly Meeting, which was large. Several matters came under consideration and debate, and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of His servants with strength and firmness to bear the burden of the day. Though I said but little, my mind was deeply exercised; and, under a sense of God's love, in the anointing and fitting some young men for His work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before Him. From hence I went to the Youths' Meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother* Benjamin Jones met me by agreement made before I left home, to join in the visit. We were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth, and Abington Meetings, and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

One evening a Friend came to our lodgings who was a Justice of the Peace, and in a friendly way introduced the subject of refusing to pay taxes to support wars, and perceiving that I was one who scrupled the payment, said he had wanted an opportunity with some in that circumstance. Whereupon we had some conversation in a brotherly way on some texts of Scripture relating thereto. In the conclusion of which he said that according to our way of proceeding it would follow that whenever the administration of government was ill, we must suffer distraint of goods rather than pay actively toward supporting it. To which I replied, men put in public stations are intended for good purposes, some to make good laws, others to take care that those laws are not broken. Now if those men thus set apart do not answer the design of their institution, our freely contributing to support them in that capacity, when we certainly know that they

are wrong, is to strengthen them in a wrong way, and tends to make them forget that it is so. But when from a clear understanding of the case we are really uneasy with the application of money, and in the spirit of meekness suffer distraint to be made on our goods rather than to pay actively, this joined with an upright uniform life, may tend to put men athinking about their own public conduct. He said he would propose a medium, that is, where men in authority do not act agreeable to the mind of those who constituted them, he thought the people should rather remonstrate than refuse a voluntary payment of moneys so demanded, and added, "Civil government is an agreement of free men by which they oblige themselves to abide by certain laws as a standard; and to refuse to obey in that case is of the nature of refusing to do any particular act which we had covenanted to do." I replied that in making covenants it was agreeable to honesty and uprightness to take care that we do not foreclose ourselves from adhering strictly to true virtue in all occurrences relating thereto. But if I should unwarily promise to obey the orders of a certain man, or number of men, without any proviso, and he or they command me to assist in doing some great wickedness, I may then see my error in making such promise, and an active obedience in that case would be adding one evil to another. That though by such promise I should be liable to punishment for disobedience yet to suffer rather than act to me appears most virtuous. The whole of our conversation was in calmness and good will. And here it may be noted that in Pennsylvania where there are many Friends under that scruple, a petition was presented to the Assembly by a large number of Friends asking that no law might be passed to enjoin the payment of money

for such uses, which they as a peaceable people could not pay for conscience' sake.[5]

The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some Friends who this summer, A.D. 1758, had bought Negro slaves, proposed to their Quarterly Meeting to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting, which was made last on that subject, and the said Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to consider it and report to their next. This committee having met once and adjourned, I, going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in town the evening on which the Quarterly Meeting's committee met the second time, and finding an inclination to sit with them, I was, with some others, admitted and Friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next Quarterly Meeting I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting, which brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord that He would be graciously pleased to so strengthen me that setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendships of this world I might stand fully resigned to His holy will.

In this Yearly Meeting several weighty matters were considered, and toward the last that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer, and I could say with David, "that tears were my meat day and night." The case of

[5] The whole anecdote about the Justice of the Peace is inserted here from the Folio. Ed.

slave-keeping lay heavy upon me, nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when this case was opened several faithful Friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance as follows:

"In the difficulties attending us in this life nothing is more precious than the mind of Truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire that in this weighty matter we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of Truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the Society than any mediums which are not in the clearness of Divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have slaves, but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together, when truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that they will know how to steer through those difficulties."

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work, and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of truth and universal righteousness on the earth. And though none did openly justify the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren, alleging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise the Lord in time to come might open a way for the deliverance of these people. Finding an engagement to speak, I said, "My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of His judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases where people have not

been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of His judgments, that He cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness He hath opened our understanding from time to time respecting our duty toward this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what He requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on the immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their freedom, God may by terrible things in righteousness answer us in this matter."

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness, and the love of truth in a good degree prevailed. Several who had Negroes expressed their desire that a rule might be made to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was replied that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at until a thorough search was made in the circumstances of such Friends as kept Negroes, in regard to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be ministered throughout. Several Friends expressed their desire that a visit might be made to such Friends who kept slaves, and many others said that they believed liberty was the Negro's right; to which, at length, no opposition was made publicly. A minute was at length made more full on that subject than any heretofore; and the names of several Friends entered who were free to join in a visit to Friends who had slaves.

CHAPTER SIX

1758 – 1759

Visits to such as kept slaves. Yearly Meeting of 1759 registers deepening concern re slavery. The Epistle. Smallpox in Mount Holly.

The 11th of 11th month, 1758, I set out for Concord. The Quarterly Meeting heretofore held there was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by an agreement of Friends at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold* and Mary Kirby* now on a religious visit from England, and with Joseph White* from Bucks County, who had taken leave of his wife and family in order to go on a religious visit to England, and, through Divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends, Daniel Stanton* and John Scarborough,* in visiting Friends who had slaves, and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's,* many young people being there; it was a precious, reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour, and thence to the burial of the corpse of a Friend at Uwchland Meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of Divine favour, after which we visited some who

had slaves. The next day we visited several who had slaves and at night we had a family meeting at our Friend Aaron Ashbridge's* house, where the channel of gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen Monthly Meeting, and on the 18th attended the Quarterly Meeting at London Grove, it being first held at that place. Here we met again with all the beforementioned Friends, and had some edifying meetings. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under to attend principally to his business as He is pleased to open it to us, and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth and our outward affairs in as little room as may be, that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of Truth in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness amongst the children of men in these days of calamity, wherein God is visiting our land with His just judgments. After this I rode home.

Each of these Quarterly Meetings was large and sat near eight hours. I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business, for except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid. If selfish views or a party spirit have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak,

it behooves us to avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting, especially when they have sat six or seven hours, and have a good way to ride home. In 300 minutes are 5 hours, and he that improperly detains three hundred people one minute in a meeting, besides other evils that attend it, does an injury like that of imprisoning one man 5 hours without cause. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the 12th month 1758 I joined, in company with my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such who had slaves. Some whose hearts were rightly exercised about them appeared glad of our visit, but in some places our way was more difficult, and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded, and have cause, in reverent thankfulness, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me towards some who were grievously entangled in the spirit of this world.

In the 1st month, 1759, having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our Society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by an agreement, and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some sick people, and some widows and their families, and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such who had slaves. It was a time of deep exercise, looking often to the Lord for His assistance, who in unspeakable kindness favoured us with the influence of that spirit which

crucifies to the world, enabling us to go through some heavy labours in which we found peace.

24th of 3rd month, 1759, I was at our general Spring Meeting at Philadelphia at which was William Reckitt and John Storer* from England, and after this meeting I again joined with John Churchman on a visit to some more who had slaves in Philadelphia. With thankfulness to our Heavenly Father I may say that Divine love and a true sympathising tenderness of heart attended us.

Having at times perceived a shyness in some Friends of considerable note towards me, I found an engagement in Gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I kept under the exercise, I felt a resignation in my mind to go and tell him privately. So I went to his house and told him in private that I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone to which he readily agreed, and then, in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom, and we had a large conference, which I believe, was of use to both of us, and am thankful that way was opened for it.

14th of 6th month, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our Monthly Meeting, I attended their Quarterly Meeting, was out seven days, and attended seven meetings; in some of them I was chiefly silent; in others, through the baptising power of Truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellow feeling with the brethren and sisters in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

In 7th month, 1757, I found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our Society who had slaves, and having no opportunity of the com-

pany of such who were named on the minutes of the Yearly Meeting I went alone to their houses, and, in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under; and thus, sometimes by a few words, found myself discharged from a heavy burden. After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves, I bore him company in the said visit to some active members and found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting, 1759, we had some weighty meetings where the power of Truth was largely extended to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As Friends read over the epistles to be sent to the Yearly Meetings along this continent, I observed in most of them, both this year and last, it was recommended to Friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves, and in some of them closely treated upon. As this practise hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account, and at times in some meetings have been almost alone therein, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness in observing the increasing concern in our religious society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of truth in general.

This meeting continued near a week. For several days, in the fore part of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward stillness, and being at times covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. Near the end of the Meeting I felt an increasing exercise to speak, and in the last meeting

way opened that in the pure flowings of Divine love, I expressed what lay upon me, which, as it then arose in my mind, was first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of sincere, upright men, though sentiments in all circumstances may not agree in some points relating to our testimony. And I was led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus, and yet, in some points, held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold, and how that, in all ages where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with Him, and that now though there may be different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful and to avoid all superfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us; and that if such who at times were under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity, it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct. In this exercise I was drawn into a sympathising tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world, and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord toward us poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting which I think good to give a place in this Journal. It is as follows:

From the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the twenty-second day of the ninth month to the twenty-eighth of the same, inclusive, 1759.

To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends Belonging to the Said Yearly Meeting.

Dearly Beloved Friends and Brethren—In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires that we may reverently regard the dispensations of His providence, and improve under them.

The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to His almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh, and deals with His people agreeable to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We in these provinces may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives, so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influences of His Holy Spirit that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives; in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion whereby they retained their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gave us a being in

a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published that we may justly say with the Psalmist, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits?"

Our own real good, and the good of our posterity, in some measure depends on the part we act, and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to His service, and engage fervently in His cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free, intelligent creature. We shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind, in a national capacity, as recorded in Holy Writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, "It is righteousness which exalteth a nation"; and though He doth not at all times suddenly execute His judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see in many instances that when "men follow lying vanities they forsake their own mercies"; and as a proud, selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy, and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backsliding shall reprove thee; know, therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that My fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of Hosts." (Jer. 2:19.)

The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice. He doth now mercifully call upon us to serve Him more faithfully. We may truly say with the Prophet, "It is His voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see his name. They regard the rod, and Him who hath appointed it." People who look chiefly at things outward too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but they who fear the Lord, and think often upon His name, see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading among the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High in His visitations to us, in-

stead of calling, lifteth up His voice and crieth: He crieth to our country, and His voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow-subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and, being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief. It is not long since many young men in one of these provinces were drafted in order to be taken as soldiers; some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the truth's sake is experienced. Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider that their care to get outward treasure for them had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

Let us not forget that "The Most High hath His way in the deep, in clouds, and in thick darkness"; that it is His voice which crieth to the city and to the country, and Oh that these loud and awakening cries may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may for a short time afford a pleasing prospect, yet, while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness which ever continues; if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal, and whose

anger is now kindled because of our backslidings,—let us then awfully regard these beginnings of His sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to Him whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in strength is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we persist in contending with Him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity? and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution? and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep, and by our constant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue let them see that we really value it. Let us labour in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions; that as they advance in age they may rightly understand their true interest, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being who inhabits eternity and preserves and supports the world.

In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God are likely to prove snares that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness, and renders them enemies to the cross of Christ who submit to the influence of it.

To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling-places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for, "here we have no continuing city"; may we therefore diligently "seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God."

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever

things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things, and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you."

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of said meeting,

MORDECAI YARNALL, THOMAS MASSEY, JOHN CHURCHMAN,
JOHN SCARBOROUGH, PETER FEARON, THOMAS EVANS,
JOSEPH PARKER.

28th, 11th mo., 1759, I was at the Quarterly Meeting in Bucks County. In the meeting of ministers and elders my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ, and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation at my lodging with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn,* who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that county who had Negroes, and as I had felt a drawing in my mind to that work in the said county, I came home and put things in order. On 11th of twelfth month I went over the river, and on the next day was at Buckingham Meeting, where through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this business appeared weighty, and before I left home my mind was often sad, under which exercise I felt at times the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities, and through which my prayers were at times put up to God in private that He would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members throughout the county who had Negroes.

Through the goodness of the Lord my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England; we had also a family Meeting at the house of an elder who bore us company, and were at Makefield on a first-day; at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord who was graciously pleased to renew His loving-kindness to us, His poor servants, uniting us together in His work.

In the winter of 1759, the small-pox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of which a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follows:

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us; I have looked at the small-pox as a messenger sent from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, to incite us to consider whether we employ our time only in such things as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness. Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us. And under these general heads are many branches of business in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, incites me to think whether this business is a real indispensable duty; whether it is not in conform-

ity to some custom which would be better laid aside, or, whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit of some outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding and a regard to that use of things which PERFECT WISDOM approves, to be brought to a sense of it and stopped in my pursuit is a kindness, for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty I have found by experience that it tends to weakness.

If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think whether my manner of life in things outward has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort and in no other degree than was designed by Him who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ, or do I sit too much idle while some persons who labour to support me have too great a share of labour? If in any of these things I am deficient, to be incited to consider it is a favour to me. There is employ necessary in social life, and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think whether these social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from every selfish view? If I go to a religious meeting it puts me athinking whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty, or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people, and whether supporting my character as a religious man has no share in it.

Do affairs relating to civil society call me near the infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life, and it becomes me to think seriously whether love to truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable, or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or colors of men, do not stain the beauty of those assemblies, and render the case doubtful in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not. Whenever there are blemishes which for a series of time remain such, that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities, to have true health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that means.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for His creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature, and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Chastisement is intended for instruction, and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented. By an earthquake hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, multitudes of people perish suddenly, and many more, being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, great numbers of people have perished in a short time, and many more pressed with poverty and grief. By the pestilence, people

have died so fast in a city, that, through fear, grief, and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins. By famine, great numbers of people in some places have been brought to the utmost distress, and have pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus, when the kind invitations and gentle chastisements of a gracious God have not been attended to, His sore judgments have at times been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of truth and righteousness, it behoves us to meditate on the end to which those ways are leading, and while many professing the truth are declining from that ardent love and heavenly-mindedness which was amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ, while I and thee as individuals feel ourselves short of that perfection in virtue which our Heavenly Father hath made possible for us, it is time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and to consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears, but if we humbly meditate on His perfections, consider that He is perfect wisdom and goodness, and to afflict His creatures to no purpose would be utterly reverse from His nature, we shall hear and understand His language both in His gentle and more heavy chastisements, and take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape His hand by means too powerful for us to apply to.

Had He endowed men with understanding to hinder the force of this disease (the small-pox) by innocent means which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to

our bodies, such a discovery might be considered at the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended. But as life and health are His gifts and are not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us by inoculation[1] when in health a disorder of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge that it is our duty to do so.

Was no business done nor visits made nor any assembling of people together but such as were consistent with pure wisdom, nor no inoculating (inoculation), there would be a great alteration in the operation of this disorder amongst men.

[1] Vaccination, yet in the future, may be considered as under this head. Inoculation meant receiving smallpox itself, in hope of a light attack, under close medical care, to prevent a heavy one caught by accident. John and Abigail Adams had all of their children inoculated (though one son nearly died of it). John Adams himself was inoculated successfully, and so was Thomas Jefferson. But Jonathan Edwards' son-in-law, Aaron Burr, president of Princeton, died of inoculation. See *Abigail Adams,* by Janet Whitney (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1947; "An Atlantic Monthly Press Book"), pp. 17-21; and *John Woolman, American Quaker,* chap. XXVIII.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1760

Second Journey to New England. Concern for slave-trade at Newport. Lotteries. Visit to Nantucket.

HAVING for some time past felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our Monthly Meeting, and, obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th day, 4th month, 1760, joining in company by a previous agreement with my beloved friend, Samuel Eastburn.

We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield, and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragements, but through the invisible power of Truth our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my own mind. We passed on and visited chief of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern from day to day to say no more nor less than what the spirit of Truth opened in me, being jealous over myself lest I should speak anything to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low, and through the subjecting power of Truth we were kept low with it; from place to place they whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ appeared to be comforted in our labours, and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet through His goodness who is a Helper of the poor we had some truly edifying seasons, both in meetings and in families where we tarried and sometimes found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families or in the Society was such that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed Truth.

At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows:—

24th of the Fourth Month, 1760

Dearly Beloved Wife,

We are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey and on this island. My mind hath been much in an inward, watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our Heavenly Father.

As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord"; as this from day to day has been revived in my memory, I have considered that His internal presence in our minds is a delight of all others the most pure, and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He who regards the helpless and distressed reveals His love to His chil-

dren under affliction; they delight in beholding His benevolence, and in feeling Divine charity moving upon them. Of this I may speak a little, for though since I left you I have often an engaging love and affection towards thee and my daughter, and friends about home, and going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in captivity; for whose sake my heart is at times moved with compassion that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me which, though small compared with some, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who I trust, cares for you, and under a sense of His heavenly love remain,

Thy loving husband,

J. W.

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us that to me it appeared dangerous, but my mind was at that time turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to Him; and as He was mercifully pleased to preserve us I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me, and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset, and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father pre-

served us in an humble dependence on Him through deep exercises that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private, concerning their slaves; and through Divine aid I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this case I appear singular from many whose service in travelling I believe is greater than mine, yet I do not think hard of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him who appoints to His servants their respective employments and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, and had comfortable sittings with them, and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend. The next day we were at the Meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and after, where the spring of the ministry was opened and strength given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey, but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of a trade from thence to Guinea, made deep impression on me, and my cries were often put up to my Heavenly Father in secret, that He would enable me to discharge my duties faithfully in such way as He might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown, and Taunton in our way to Boston, where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston,[1] taking meetings, and were in a good degree pre-

[1] He wrote to his wife from Lynn, Sunday, May 18.

served in a humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard labour with the disobedient, by laying things home and close to such as were stout against the truth, yet through the goodness of God we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with those who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there, and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston. Our pilot being a heavy man, and the weather hot, my companion and I expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully took our leave of him; this we did as believing the journey went hard with him and his horse.

We visited the meetings in those parts and were measurably baptised into a feeling of the state of the Society, and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley,* Ann Gauntt,* Hannah Foster,* and Mercy Redman,* from our parts, all ministers of the Gospel, of whose company I was glad. I understood that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa, and then on sale by a member of our Society. My appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed, "When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed. I was desirous that Friends might petition the Legislature to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves, for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and to

bring distresses on the people in those parts for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned. But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning, and such was the exercise of my mind that I thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly, then sitting in town.

This exercise came upon me in the afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and on going to bed I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned thereto. In the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly was likely to continue sitting, who told me it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to separate before the business was over, after considerable exercise, seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way opened. And being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to speak with those in authority on cases relating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made, and afterwards I opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:—

"I have been under a concern for some time on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of Heaven without speaking to it. I have prepared an essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way open; and what I have to propose to this meeting is that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over

it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting to consider whether to take any further notice of it, as a meeting, or not."

After a short conference some Friends went out, and looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read, which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal, and some signified that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and signed out of meeting by such as were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first that if it was done it would be in that way, yet such was the exercise of my mind that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled appeared to me as a duty, for my heart yearned towards the inhabitants of these parts, believing that by this trade there had been an increase of unquietness amongst them, and the way made easy for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility which is a sure resting-place for the soul; and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but would increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived in my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now, on moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practise amongst their members, and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In

this debate it appeared very clear to me that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confuse and darken the understanding, and that pleading for it in our meetings, which were set apart for the Lord's work, was not right. In the heat of zeal, I made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. After this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made, a copy of which was to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practise amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made I remained uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, and could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, though I was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. After some close exercise and hearty repentance for not having attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and, reciting the passage, acquainted Friends that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement after a warm debate, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a secret though heavy exercise, in regard to some leading active members about Newport, who were in the practise of keeping slaves. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those members. One of them and I,

having consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves, he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me. Now I had, near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, a private conference with this said elder and his wife, concerning their slaves, so that the way seemed clear to me to advise with him about the manner of proceeding. I told him I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private house; or if he believed they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the hearing of one another, I was free to spend some time amongst them and to visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and, as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers, he named some others whom he desired might be present also. And as a careful messenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses, to open the matter to them—and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning we met in the meeting house chamber, the last-mentioned country Friend, my companion, and John Storer being with us. After a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and so we proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of truth which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length, feeling my mind released from that burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they

manifested in regard to the practise, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to disposing of their Negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them; and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my soul and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou who sometimes travels in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, seest many tokens of their satisfaction in having thee for their guest. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people. If we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom, and affability do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have experienced that, in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward interest, is hard labour. Sometimes, when I have felt Truth lead towards it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship; and as the sense thereof hath abased me, and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for His sake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own will, and to speak of that which is the burden of the Word in a way easy to the natural part, does not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, tends to undermine the foundation of true unity. The office of a minister of Christ is weighty. And they who now go forth as watchmen have

need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

After the Yearly Meeting was over we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester, and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gauntt, Mercy Redman, and several other Friends. The wind being slack we only reached Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public-house, and beds for a few of us,—the rest sleeping on the floor. We went on board again about break of day, and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us got into our boat and rowed to the harbour before dark; whereupon a large whale-boat going off brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days, on the last of which was also their Monthly Meeting for business. We had a laborious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart. The longer I was on the island the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits except as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friends' houses where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over we all agreed to sail the next day if the weather was suitable and we were well; and

being called up the latter part of the night we went on board, being in all about fifty; but, the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered again, so we went on shore. And I, feeling clear as to any further visits, spent my time in my chamber, chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my Heavenly Father for His help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord there came a messenger from the women Friends who lodged at another house desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the Gospel. The next morning going on board, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night, where our horses being brought we proceeded towards Sandwich Quarterly Meeting.

Being two days going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which makes sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; I observed also, that a great shoal which encloses their harbour prevents their going in with sloops except when the tide is up. Waiting without for the rising of the tide is sometimes hazardous in storms, and waiting within they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that on that small island are a great number of inhabitants and the soil not very fertile, the timber being so gone that for vessels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on buying from the Main. The cost where-

of, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery to answer. I considered that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were more cleared, timber and wood would require more labour to get at. I understood that the whales, being much hunted and sometimes wounded and not killed, grew more shy and difficult to come at. I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds, and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to His heavenly instruction, and put their trust in Him, He provides for them in all parts where He gives them a being; and as in this visit to these people I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation, besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak to the women Friends in their Monthly Meeting of business, many being present, and in the fresh spring of pure love to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility and the disuse of all superfluities. I reminded them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea, and that the more plain and simple their way of living was the less need of running great hazards to support them in it, encouraging the young women in their neat, decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business and were content with a plain way of life, that it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmness of mind than those have had who,

aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves in it. And as I observed they had few or no slaves amongst them, I had to encourage them to be content without them, making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations which frequently attend the minds of people who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gauntt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a Monthly Meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were various ways exercised amongst them, in Gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us, and were at times overshadowed with the Divine virtue of truth, to the comfort of the sincere and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time. Reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly Meeting, we attended it, and after that had a meeting with our young people separated from other societies. We went through much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace, and was in some degree comforted in a belief that a good number remain in that place who retain a sense of truth, and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the Heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting, in which Friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was a Select Meeting,[2] and through the renewed manifestation of our Father's love the hearts of the sincere were united together.

That poverty of spirit and inward weakness, which so

[2] A term implying a Meeting of Ministers and Elders.

much attended me the forepart of this journey, has of late appeared to me as a kindness from the Lord. Appointing meetings never felt more weighty to me, and I was led into a deep search, whether in all cases my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself what should be the cause of such inward poverty and leanness, greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the Divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and attentive to the deep movings of the Spirit of Truth on my heart, and here duties were opened to me which in times of fullness I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

Departing from Newport we were at three meetings on our way toward Connecticut, through which we travelled to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick. Afterwards, accompanied by our friend John Casey* from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly Meeting at Ryewoods. Through the gracious extendings of Divine help, we had some seasoning times in those parts. We then visited Friends at New York, Flushing, and Rahway, and here I parted with my beloved friend and true yokemate, Samuel Eastburn, and reached home on 8th month, 10th, 1760 where I found my family well. For the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this little journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgment and I feel renewed engagement that I may dwell in resignedness to Him.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1761 – 1762

Publishes second part of essay "Considerations on keeping Negroes." Labour as "an agreeable employ." The roots of war in the economic order. Severe illness, and adoption of undyed clothing 1762. Consequent silence in Meeting for a year. Visit to the Indians 1763.

HAVING found my mind of late drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be instructed rightly as to the time of setting off. On the 10th of the 5th month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield Meeting, concluding in my mind to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home, or go on, as I might then believe best for me, and there through the springing up of pure love I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two Quarterly and three Monthly Meetings, and in the love of truth I felt my way open to labour with some noted Friends who kept Negroes. As I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavour to discharge what I believe was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time, and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

In the 8th month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends in and about Shrewsbury, I went there, and was at their first-day meeting, their Monthly Meeting, and had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squanquam, and, as way opened, I had conversation with some noted Friends in the fear of the Lord concerning their slaves. I returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of the Lord.

From the concern I felt growing in me for some years I wrote "Considerations on keeping Negroes, part second," which was printed this year, 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they offered to get a number printed to be paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock and to be given away; but I being most easy to publish it at my own expense, and offering my reasons, they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious society in general, amongst whom are many who keep Negroes, and some of them being resolved to continue them in slavery are not likely to be satisfied with such books being spread among a people, especially at their own expense, where many of the slaves are learned to read, and such, often receiving them as a gift, conceal them.[1] But as they who make a purchase generally buy that which they have a mind for, I was easy to sell them, expecting by that means they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements were signed by order of the overseers of the press, and directed to be read in the Monthly Meetings of business within

[1] This sentence follows the clarification of the earlier editors. The Folio and Second Quarto both read: "those books being spread amongst a people where many of the slaves are learned to read and especially not at their expense, and such, often receiving . . . them."

our own Yearly Meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them. Many were taken off in our parts; some I sent to New York and to Newport to my acquaintance there, and some I kept by me, expecting to give part of them away where there appears a prospect of doing it to advantage.

In my youth I was used to hard labour, and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure so much as many others. Being often weary with it, I was prepared to sympathise with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labour to answer the demands of their creditors, as well as with others under oppression in the uneasiness of body which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression which is imposed on many in the world. The latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart, through the fresh visitations of heavenly love, being often tender, and my leisure time being frequently spent in reading the life and doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the account of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our Society, a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that if such as had great estates generally lived in that humility and plainness which belong to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and moneys, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labour both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ, and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of

our minds, and which at present seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might, in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued. As I have thus considered these things, a query at times hath arisen: Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then there hath some degree of sadness at times come over me, because I accustomed myself to some things which have occasioned more labour than I believe Divine Wisdom intended for us.

From my early acquaintance with truth I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me against the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this state I have been afflicted with a sense of my own wretchedness, and in a mourning condition have felt earnest longings for that Divine help which brings the soul into true liberty. Sometimes[2] on retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me, and under a heavenly covering I have asked my gracious Father to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of His wisdom; in uttering language like this, the thought of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye injurious to them, has made lasting impression on me.

In visiting people of note in the Society who had slaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the sight has affected me, that a conformity to some customs distinguishable from pure wisdom has entangled many, and that the desire of gain to support these customs has greatly opposed the work of truth. Sometimes when the prospect of the work

[2] Folio and Second Quarto repeat the phrase "in this state." Former editors' version retained. Ed.

before me has been such that in bowedness of spirit I have been drawn into retired places, and have besought the Lord with tears that He would take me wholly under His direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk, it hath revived with strength of conviction that if I would be His faithful servant I must in all things attend to His wisdom, and be teachable; and so cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used amongst religious people.

As He is the perfection of power, of wisdom, and of goodness, so I believe He hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for men's support in this world as would, being rightly divided, be a suitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into superfluities, nor grasp after wealth in a way contrary to His wisdom, without having connection with some degree of oppression and with that spirit which leads to self-exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced and feeling an increasing desire to live in the spirit of peace, I have often been sorrowfully affected with thinking on the unquiet spirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miseries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein; some suddenly destroyed, some wounded and, after much pain, remaining cripples; some deprived of all their outward substance and reduced to want; and some carried into captivity. Thinking often on these things, the use of hats and garments dyed with a dye injurious to them, and wearing more clothes in summer than are useful, grew more uneasy to me, believing them to be customs which have not their foundation in pure wis-

dom. The apprehension of being singular from my beloved friends was a strait upon me, and thus I continued in the use of some things contrary to my judgment.

On the 31st of fifth month, 1761, I was taken ill of a fever, and after having it near a week I was in great distress of body. One day there was a cry raised in me that I might understand the cause why I was afflicted and improve under it, and my conformity to some customs which I believed were not right was brought to my remembrance. In the continuation of this exercise I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being, and was made thankful that He had taken hold of me by His chastisement, feeling the necessity of further purifying. There was now no desire in me for health until the design of my correction was answered. Thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit, and as I felt a sinking down into a calm resignation, so I felt, as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature, and from that time forward I grew better.

Though I was thus settled in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt easy to wear my garments heretofore made, and continued to do so about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural colour of the fur, but the apprehension of being looked upon as one affecting singularity felt uneasy to me. Here I had occasion to consider that things, though small in themselves, being clearly enjoined by Divine authority as a duty, become great things to us; and I trusted that the Lord would support me in the trials that might attend singularity while that singularity was only for His sake. On this account I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our General Spring Meeting, 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed; and at a time when one of my

dear brethren was concerned in humble supplication, I being then deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, was made willing to submit to what I apprehended was required of me, and, in case I got safe home, to speak for a hat to be made the natural colour of the fur, and did so.

In attending public meetings this singularity was a trial to me, and more especially at this time, as white hats were used by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress, and as some Friends who knew not on what motives I wore it grew shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the exercise of the ministry. In this condition, my mind being turned toward my Heavenly Father with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before Him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings and I felt an inward consolation which to me was very precious under these difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use which I believed it best to wear till I had occasion for new ones. Some Friends were apprehensive that my wearing such a hat savoured of an affected singularity; those who spoke with me in a friendly way I generally informed, in a few words, that I believed my wearing it was not in my own will. I had at times been sensible that a superficial friendship had been dangerous to me; and many Friends being now uneasy with me, I found to be a providential kindness. And though I had an inclination to acquaint some valuable friends with the manner of my being led into these things, yet upon a deeper thought I was for a time most easy to omit it, believing the present dispensation was profitable, and trusting that if I kept my place the Lord in His own time would open the hearts of Friends toward me. I have since had cause to

admire His goodness and loving-kindness in leading about and instructing and opening and enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.

In the 11th month, 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the second month, 1763, I joined, in company with Elizabeth Smith* and Mary Noble* from Burlington in a visit to the families of Friends at Ancocas. On both these visits, through the baptizing power of truth, the hearts of Friends opened to receive us and the sincere labourers were often comforted. In the fourth month following, I bore some Friends company in a visit to the families of Friends in Mount Holly; during this visit my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness wherein strong desires were raised for the everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures, and through the kindness of our Heavenly Father our hearts were at times enlarged, and Friends were invited, in the flowings of Divine love, to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

Having for many years felt love in my heart towards the natives of this land who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were the owners and possessors of the country where we dwell, and who for a very small consideration assigned their inheritance to us, and being at Philadelphia in the eighth month 1761, on a visit to some Friends who had slaves, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing, about two hundred miles from Philadelphia. In conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenance and conduct, I be-

lieved some of them were measurably acquainted with that Divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature. At times I felt inward drawings toward a visit to that place, which I told none except my dear wife, until it came to some ripeness. And then, in the winter of 1762, I laid it before Friends at our Monthly and Quarterly, and then at our General Spring Meeting; and having the unity of Friends and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on business. Being informed thereof by letter, I met them in town in the 5th month, 1763; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, I, with the concurrence of Friends in that place, agreed to join them at Samuel Foulke's,* at Richland, in Bucks County, on the 7th of 6th month. Now, as this visit felt very weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of Divine Providence in preparing my mind for it have been memorable, and I believe it good for me to give some account thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with an unusual sadness; in which times my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for His heavenly support, that I might not fail of following Him wheresoever He might lead me. Being at our youths' meeting at Chesterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, I was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to His Father: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from evil." And in attending to the pure openings of truth, I had to mention what He elsewhere said to His

Father: "I know that Thou hearest me at all times"; so that, as some of His followers kept their places, and as His prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil; and as some of those met with great hardships and afflictions in this world, and at last suffered death by cruel men, it appears that whatever befalls men while they live in pure obedience to God as it certainly works for their good, may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I spake on this subject my heart was much tendered, and great awfulness came over me. On the first day of the next week, being at our own afternoon meeting, and my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over His people, and to make mention of that passage where a band of Assyrians endeavouring to take captive the prophet, were disappointed; and how the Psalmist said that "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him." Thus, in true love and tenderness, I parted from Friends, expecting the next morning to proceed on my journey, and being weary, I went early to bed. After I had been asleep a short time I was awaked by a man calling at our door, and arising was invited to go and meet some Friends at a public-house in our town, who came from Philadelphia so late that Friends were generally gone to bed. These Friends informed me that an express had arrived the last morning from the fort called Pittsburg and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English westward, and slain and scalped some English people, some near the said Pittsburg, and in divers places. Some elderly Friends in Philadelphia knowing the time of my intending to set off had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things before I left home that

I might consider them and proceed as I believed best. So I going again to bed, told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for His heavenly instruction and it was a humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but in a few hours' time my mind became settled in a belief that it was my duty to proceed on my journey, and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit there were great searchings of heart and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be in the least degree attended to but that of the pure spirit of truth.

The subjects before mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public were now fresh before me, and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as He saw good. So I took leave of my family and neighbours in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our Monthly Meeting at Burlington. After taking leave of Friends there, I crossed the river, accompanied by my friends Israel* and John* Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Samuel Foulke's, where I met the beforementioned Indians; and we were glad to see each other. Here my friend Benjamin Parvin* met me, and proposed joining me as a companion—we had before exchanged some letters on the subject—and now on his account I had a sharp trial; for as the journey appeared perilous I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company and we should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties would add to my own affliction. So I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it his duty to go on, I believed his com-

pany would be very comfortable to me. It was, indeed, a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit that he could not be easy to leave me; so we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton and William Lightfoot,* of Pikeland. We lodged at Bethlehem, and there parting with John, William and we went forward on the 9th of sixth month, and got lodging on the floor of a house about five miles from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William, and at this place we met with an Indian trader lately come from Wyoming. In conversation with him I perceived that many white people do often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe is a great evil. In the first place, they being thereby deprived of the use of reason, and, their spirits violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief, and the bitterness and resentments occasioned hereby are frequently of long continuance. Again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, when they begin to be intoxicated they often sell at a low rate for more rum; and afterwards when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life are angry with those who for the sake of gain, took advantage of their weakness. Their chiefs have often complained of this in their treaties with the English. Where cunning people pass counterfeits and impose on others that which is good for nothing, it is considered as wickedness; but for the sake of gain to sell that to people which we know does them harm and which often works their ruin manifests a hardened and corrupt heart and is an evil which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue in endeavouring to suppress. While my mind this evening was thus employed, I also remembered that the

people on the frontier among whom this evil is too common, are often poor people, who venture to the outside of a colony that they may live more independent of the wealthy, who often set high rents on their land. I was renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to pure wisdom, labouring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth and from all customs which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be easy for our inhabitants, though much more numerous than at present, to live comfortable on honest employments, without having that temptation they are often under of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on lands which have not been honestly purchased of the Indians, or of applying to that wicked practice of selling rum to them.

10th of 6th, we set out early in the morning and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehigh, near Fort Allen. The water being high, we went over in a canoe. Here we met an Indian and had some friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he, having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us some of it. After travelling some miles we met several Indian men and women with a cow and horse, and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wyoming, and going to settle in another place. We made them some small presents, and some of them understanding English I told them my motive for coming into their country, with which they appeared satisfied. One of our guides talking awhile with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. So going on we pitched our tents near

the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge. The roughness of the stones and the cavities between them, with the steepness of the hills, made it appear dangerous. But we were preserved in safety, through the kindness of Him whose works in these mountainous deserts appear awful, and toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose were various representations of men going to and returning from the wars, and of some being killed in battle. This was a path heretofore used by warriors, and as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red or black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world, thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors in travelling over mountains and deserts; on their miseries and distresses when wounded far from home by their enemies; of their bruises and great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains; and of their restless, unquiet state of mind who live in this spirit, and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of those nations engaged in war with each other—the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people arose very fresh in me. This was the first night that we lodged in the woods, and being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground and our tent wet and the bushes wet which we purposed to lay under our blankets, all looked discouraging; but I believed that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that He would dispose of me as He saw good, and so I felt easy. We kindled a fire, with our tent open to it, and

with some bushes next the ground and then blankets we made our bed, and, lying down got some sleep. In the morning, feeling a little unwell, I went into the river all over; the water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh and well. 11th day 6th month the bushes being wet we tarried in our tent until about eight o'clock, then going on we crossed a high mountain supposed to be upward of four miles wide, and the steepness of the north side exceeded all the others. We also crossed two swamps and it raining near night, we pitched our tent and lodged. About noon on our way we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren[3] going to Wehaloosing and an Indian man with him who could talk English; and we being together while our horses ate grass had some friendly conversation; but they, travelling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian Brother, I understood, had spent some time this spring at Wehaloosing, and was invited by some of the Indians to come again.

12th of 6th mo. and 1st of the week it being a rainy day, we continued in our tent, and here I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and then a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth amongst them; and as it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increasing, and when, by reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual at that season, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportu-

[3] David Zeisberger. *See* Appendix E.

nity to season my mind, and to bring me into a nearer sympathy with them. As mine eye was to the great Father of Mercies, humbly desiring to learn what His will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our pilot's horse though hoppled, went away in the night, and after finding our own and searching some time for him his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about seven hours returned with him, and here we lodged again, tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

Thirteenth of sixth month, the sun appearing we set forward, and as I rode over the barren hills my meditations were on the alterations in the circumstances of the natives of this land since the coming of the English. The lands near the sea are conveniently situated for fishing; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous, while the running of the tides makes passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. Those natives have in some places, for trifling considerations, sold their inheritance so favourably situated, and in other places been driven back by superior force; their way of clothing themselves is also altered from what it was, and they being far remote from us have to pass over mountains, swamps, and barren deserts, where travelling is very troublesome in bringing their furs and skins to trade with us. By the extending of English settlements, and partly by the increase of English hunters, the wild beasts which the natives chiefly depend on for subsistence are not so plentiful as they were, and people too often, for

the sake of gain, induce them to waste their skins and furs in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires were now very much broken, and my heart with much earnestness turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me. I had a prospect of the English along the coast for upward of nine hundred miles where I have travelled, and the favourable situation of the English and the difficulties attending the natives and the slaves amongst us in many places were open before me. A weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be faithful to the Lord while His mercies are yet extended to us, and so attend to pure universal righteousness as to give no just cause of offense to the gentiles who do not profess Christianity, whether they be the blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent. Here I was led into a close and laborious inquiry whether I, as an individual, kept clear from all things which tended to stir up or were connected with wars, either in this land or in Africa; my heart was deeply concerned that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure truth, and live and walk in the plainness and simplicity of a sincere follower of Christ. In this lonely journey I did greatly bewail the spreading of a wrong spirit, believing that the prosperous, convenient situation of the English requires a constant attention to Divine love and wisdom, in order to guide and support us in a way answerable to the will of that good, gracious, and Almighty Being who hath an equal regard to all mankind. And here luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions and other evils attending

them, appeared very afflicting to me, and I felt in that which is immutable that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent. Nor have I words sufficient to set forth the longing I then felt, that we who are placed along the coast, and have tasted the love and goodness of God, might arise in His strength and like faithful messengers labour to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

We reached the Indian settlement at Wyoming, and here we were told that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians having taken an English fort westward, and destroyed the people, and that they were endeavouring to take another: also that another Indian runner came there about midnight the night next before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles from Wehaloosing, and brought news that some Indian warriors from distant parts came to that town with two English scalps, and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our pilots took us to the house of a very ancient man. Soon after we had put in our baggage there came a man from another Indian house some distance off. Perceiving there was a man near the door I went out; the man had a tomahawk wrapped under his match-coat out of sight. As I approached him he took it in his hand; I however went forward, and, speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English. My companion then coming out, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; he then went into the house with us and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, sat down and smoked his pipe. Though his taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew

near him had a disagreeable appearance I believe he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged that what Indians were about Wyoming expected in a few days to move to some larger towns, I thought that to all outward appearance it was dangerous travelling at this time. After a hard day's journey I was brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back and feel over the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit; and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilful disobedience. Then as I believed I had under a sense of duty come thus far I was now earnest in spirit, beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace from my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Thus I lay full of thoughts a great part of the night, while my beloved companion slept by me, till the Lord, my gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased to give quietness. Then I was again strengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into His heavenly hands, and got a little sleep towards day.

When morning came we arose, and then on the 14th of 6th month, we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with, they being chiefly in one place about a mile from where we lodged, in number about twenty. I expressed the care I had on my mind for their good, and told them that true love had made

me willing thus to leave my home and family to come and see the Indians and speak with them in their houses. Some of them understood English and appeared kind and friendly. So we took our leave of those Indians and we went up the river Susquehanna about three miles to the house of an Indian called Jacob January. He had killed his hog, and the women were making store of bread and preparing to move away up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the spring, which lying dry was leaky. This detained us some hours so that we had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family; and eating dinner with them we made them some small presents. Then putting our baggage in the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses. We swam them over a creek called Lahawahamunk, and pitched our tent a little above, there being a shower in the evening. In a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to trust in Him, I lay down in an humble, bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

15th of 6th month, we proceeded forward till the afternoon, when, a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place and stayed all night, the rain continuing so heavy that it ran through our tent and wet us and our baggage. The next day we found on our way an abundance of trees blown down with the storm yesterday, and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealing of the Lord, who provided a safe place in a valley for us while this storm continued. We were much hindered by the trees which had fallen across our path, and in some swamps our way was so stopped that we got through with extreme difficulty. I had this day often to consider my-

self as a sojourner in this world. A belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support His people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me, and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation.

We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river. This afternoon Job Chilaway,* an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river. Understanding where we expected to lodge, he pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe arrived, it being hard work pushing up stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday and told them that three warriors coming from some distance lodged in a town above Wehaloosing a few nights past, and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province store at Shamokin. Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet, through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from which I had been used to, I grew sick. The news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith; and though through the strength of Divine love I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the Divine disposal, I still found the want of my strength to be renewed that I might persevere therein; and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy, gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

17th of 6th mo., parting with Job Chilaway, we went on and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon. The first Indian that we saw was a woman of

a modest countenance, with a babe. She first spake to our pilot and then with a harmonious voice expressed her gladness at seeing us, they having before heard of our coming. Then by the direction of our pilot we sat down on a log and he went to the town to tell the people that we were come. My companion and I, sitting thus together in a deep inward stillness, the poor woman came and sat near us; and, great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After a while we heard a conch-shell blow several times and then came John Curtis and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found I suppose about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting with them a short time I stood up, and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them all, in a few short sentences, which some of them understanding interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I showed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bid me welcome.

18th of 6th mo. we rested ourselves this forenoon and the Indians knowing that the Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay awhile with them, were I believe, concerned that no discord might be in their meetings, and having, I suppose, conferred together, they acquainted me that the people, at my request, would at any time come together and hold meetings. They also told me that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings which are commonly held in the morning and near evening. So I found

liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people, and that I believed no ill effects would follow it if I sometimes spake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course. Whereupon he expressed his goodwill toward my speaking at any time all that I found in my heart to say.

On the evening of the 18th I was at their meeting, where pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering of some of our hearts. The interpreters endeavoured to acquaint the people of what I said in short sentences, but found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues, so they helped one another and we laboured along, Divine love attending. Afterward, feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed right, He would hear me, and expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love. Before our people went out I observed Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender) spoke to one of the interpreters, and I was afterward told that he said in substance as follows: "I love to feel where words come from."

19th of 6th mo. and first of the week, this morning the Indian who came up with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed in the meeting, and then the Moravian spake a short time to the people. And in the afternoon they coming together, my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect

in the work, and I, feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded without them; and I believe the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to edification where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of Divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord. After I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited up to give the Indians the substance of what I said.

Before our first meeting this morning, my mind was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts. A near sympathy with them was raised in me, and, my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction does not exceed what I then felt for that people. I came to this place through much trouble; and though through the mercies of God I believed that if I died in the journey it would be well with me, yet the thought of falling into the hands of Indian warriors was, in times of weakness, afflicting to me; and being of a tender constitution of body, the thought of captivity among them was also grievous; supposing that as they were strong and hardy they might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear.

But the Lord alone was my keeper, and I believed if I went into captivity it would be for some good end. Thus, from time to time, my mind was centred in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And this day, though I had the same dangerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when, in my

own eyes, I appeared inferior to many amongst the Indians.

When the last-mentioned meeting was ended, it being night, Papunehang went to bed; and one of the interpreters sitting by me, I observed Papunehang spoke a minute or two with an harmonious voice. I asked the interpreter, who told me that he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favours he had received that day, and prayed that He would continue to favour him with the same which he had experienced in the meeting. Though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravian and to join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

20th of 6th mo. was at two meetings and silent in them both. 21st day, this morning, in meeting, my heart was enlarged in pure love amongst them, and in short plain sentences I expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily. The meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving kindness of the Lord toward us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ to labour among these people.[4]

And now, feeling my mind at liberty to return, I took my leave of them in general at the conclusion of what I said in meeting, and so we prepared to go homeward. But some of their most active men told us that when we

[4] A marginal note was written in the journal here by John Woolman: "At our Yearly Meeting 1767 information was given in our Meeting of Ministers and Elders that some Indians far back had sent a message in which they desired that some of the Quakers would come and pay them a religious visit. And in the year 1771 a message came to the Governor of Pennsylvania to that import."

were ready to move the people would choose to come and shake hands with us. Those who usually came to meeting did so; and from a secret draught in my mind I went among some who did not use to go to the meetings, and took my leave of them also. The Moravian and his Indian interpreter appeared respectful to us at parting. This town, Wehaloosing, stands on the bank of the Susquehanna, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together, some about thirty feet long and eighteen wide,—some bigger, some less. They are built mostly of split plank, one end set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate on which lie rafters, and then covered with bark. I understand a great flood last winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town stands, and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be of our company but when we were ready to go we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with skins and furs, who chose to go in company with us. So they loaded two canoes which they desired us to go in, telling us that the waters were so raised with the rains that the horses should be taken by such who were better acquainted with the fording-places. So we with several Indians went in the canoes and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours. And we meeting with the horsemen on the way by appointment, then near night a little below a branch called Tankhannah we lodged there, and some of the young men, going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

22nd of 6th mo., through diligence we reached Wyoming before night and understood that the Indians were mostly gone from this place. We went up a small creek

into the woods with our canoes and pitching our tent carried out our baggage, and before dark our horses came to us.

23rd of 6th mo., in the morning their horses were loaded and we prepared our baggage and so set forward, being in all fourteen, and with diligent travelling were favoured to get near half-way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wyoming to our frontier being mostly poor and good grass being scarce the Indians chose a piece of low ground to lodge on as the best for grazing. I had sweat much in travelling, and being weary slept sound. I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better soon.

24th of 6th mo., we passed Fort Allen and lodged near it in the woods. We forded the westerly branch of the Delaware three times, and thereby had missed the highest part of the Blue Mountains called the Second Ridge. In the second time fording where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, my companion's mare, being tall, and a tractable animal, he drove her sundry times back through the river, and they loaded her with the burdens of some small horses which were thought unable to come through with their loads. The troubles westward and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier was, I apprehend, one reason why so many came, expecting that our being in company would prevent the outside inhabitants from being surprised.

25th of 6th mo., we reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremost and to acquaint people on and near the road who these Indians were. This we found very needful for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of the English being killed

by Indians westward. Among our company were some whom I did not remember to have seen at meeting, and some of these at first were very reserved; but we being several days together and behaving friendly towards them and making them suitable return for the services they did us, they became free and sociable.

26th of 6th mo. and first of the week, having carefully endeavoured to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted with us affectionately. We went forward to Richland and had a very comfortable meeting amongst our friends. Here I parted with my kind and beloved companion Benjamin Parvin, and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulke we rode to John Cadwalader's,* from whence I reached home the next day and found my family middling well. They and my friends all along appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous; but my mind, while I was out, had been employed in striving for a perfect resignation, and I had often been confirmed in a belief that whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me would work for good. And I was now careful lest I should admit any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch and laboured to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and Protector may intend for me. Between the English settlements and Wehaloosing we had only a narrow path which in many places is much grown up with bushes and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it, which together with mountains, swamps, and rough stones, it is a difficult road to travel, and the more so because rattlesnakes abound there, of which we killed four. People who have never been in such places have but an imperfect idea of them;

and I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led me about and instructed me that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation in life is difficult.

CHAPTER NINE

1763 – 1769

The juggler. Notes on Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1764. The nature of true wisdom. Further considerations on keeping slaves and remorse for having been once involved in sale of a Negro's time until age of 30. He buys off the remainder of the man's time.

The latter part of summer, 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly who had before published by a printed advertisement that at such a public-house he would on such a certain night show many wonderful operations which he therein enumerated. This man at the time appointed did by sleight of hand sundry things which to those gathered appeared strange. The next day I hearing of it and understanding that the show was to be continued the next night, and the people were to meet about sunset, I felt an exercise on that account. So I went to the public-house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then sitting down on a long seat by the door, I spoke to the people as they came together, concerning this show, and more coming and sitting down with us, the seats by the door were mostly filled. I had conversation with them in the

fear of the Lord and laboured to convince them that thus assembling to see those sleight-of-hand tricks, and bestowing their money to support men who, in that capacity, were of no use to the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion. There was one of the company who for a time endeavoured to show the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of Scripture and calmly debating the matter he gave up the point. After spending about an hour among them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

27th of 7th mo., 1764, Dream of a visit to a dictator in war-time on mission of peace.[1]

At night I dreamed I was abroad on a religious visit beyond the sea, and had been out upward of two months and that while I was out on the visit the people of the country where I was and those of a neighbouring kingdom having concerns together in affairs abroad had difference which arose so high that they began to fight and both parties were preparing for a general war. I thought there was no sea between them, but only bounded by a line, and that the man who was chief among the other people lived within a day's journey of where I was. I being troubled at these things felt a desire in my mind to go and speak with this chief man and try to prevail on him to stop fighting that they might enquire more fully into the grounds of their disagreement and endeavour to accommodate their difference without shedding more blood. So I set off having one man with me as a pilot and after traveling sometime in the woods we came in sight of a few of those people at labour having guns with them;

[1] From a dated manuscript in Woolman's handwriting at Rutgers University Library, not hitherto printed in any version of the *Journal,* but included in *John Woolman, American Quaker,* chap. XXXIII.

I being foremost came near them before they saw us, and as soon as they discovered that we were from their enemies' country they took up their guns and were preparing to fire on us, whereupon I hastily approached them holding up both my arms to let them see that I had no warlike weapons. So I shook hands with them and let them know the cause of our coming, at which they appeared well pleased. In the surprise at our meeting my pilot held forth a small gun he had with him which I knew not of before, but they so soon understood our business that none fired; after which I saw my pilot no more. But one of these people offering to conduct me to their chief man, he and I set forward and traveled along a path through woods and swamps near southeast, and on our way my new pilot who could talk broken English spake to me with an agreeable countenance and desired that when I came before their chief I would speak my mind freely, and signified their salutation at meeting was to speak to each other but not to shake hands. At length we came to the house of this chief man, whom I thought had the command of the soldiers and was at the head of the affairs of their country but was not called a king. His house stood by itself and a good garden with green herbs before the door, in which garden I stood, while my pilot went to tell this chief man that I wanted to speak with him. As I stood alone in the garden my mind was exercised on the affair I came upon, and presently my pilot returned and passing by me said he had forgot to tell me that I had an invitation to dinner. Soon after him came the chief man, who having been told the cause of my coming looked on me with a friendly countenance, and as I was about to enter on the business I awoke.

Notes at our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, 9th

month, 1764. John Smith* of Marlborough, Chester County, aged upward of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, in our Meeting of Ministers and Elders on the 25th, stood up and, appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit, informed Friends in substance as follows: "That he had been a member of our Society upward of sixty years and well remembered that in those early times Friends were a plain, lowly-minded people, and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings. That, at the end of twenty years from that time, the Society increasing in wealth and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility decreased and their meetings in general not so lively and edifying. That at the end of forty years many in the Society were grown rich, and that wearing of fine costly garments, and silver watches, with fashionable furniture, became customary with them and with their sons and daughters. And as these things prevailed in the Society and appeared in our Meeting of Ministers and Elders, so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Spirit were less manifested amongst us. That there had been an increase of outward greatness, even till now; and that the weakness which hath now overspread the Society and the barrenness manifest among us was matter of much sorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending these meetings in future, expecting his dissolution was near;[2] and as pious parents finally departing from their families express their last fervent desires for their good, so did he most tenderly express his concern for us and signified that he had seen in the true light that the Lord would bring back his people from that worldly spirit into which too many were thus degener-

[2] It was the last Yearly Meeting he attended [Woolman's note].

ated, but that his faithful servants must go through great and heavy exercises before this work was brought about.

The 29th day of 9th month, the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting sometime since to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings now made report that in the course of their proceedings they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offices in government inconsistent with our principles, and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meeting for discipline and more and more prevailing in the management thereof had been one means of weakness in some places.[3] After this report was read, an exercise revived in my mind which at times had attended me for several years, and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me that the fear of man might not hinder me from doing what He required of me, so standing up in His Dread, I spoke in substance as follows: "I have felt a tenderness in my mind toward persons in two circumstances mentioned in that report; that is, toward such active members as keep slaves and such as hold offices in government; and have desired that Friends, in all their conduct, may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many Friends who keep slaves are under some exercise on that account; and at times think about trying them with freedom, but find many things in their way. The manner of living and the annual expenses of some of them are such that it is impracticable for them to set their slaves free without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have observed in some places, at Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and at some houses where travelling Friends and their horses are often entertained, that the

[3] This paragraph does not occur in the Folio Manuscript but is found in the Second Quarto Manuscript.

yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable. And Friends in some places crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment hath rested as a burden on my mind for some years past. I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that Friends here present may duly consider it."

And I may here add what then occurred to me though I did not mention it, to wit: in fifty pounds are four hundred half crowns. If a slave be valued at fifty pounds, and I with my horse put his owner to half a crown expense, and I with many others for a course of years repeat these expenses four hundred times, without any compensation, then on a fair computation his slave may be accounted a slave to the public, under the direction of the man he calls master.

9th of 10th mo., 1764, I having hired a man to work, perceived in conversation that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent. In the evening giving a narrative of his captivity amongst the Indians, he informed me that he saw two of his fellow-captives tortured to death. This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed, and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of Divine love was spread over my mind, in which I had a renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above which leads to a right use of all gifts both spiritual and temporal, and gives content therein. Under a feeling thereof I wrote as follows:—

"Hath He who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute creatures given me a capacity superior to theirs, and shown me that a moderate application to business is proper to my present condition, and this, attended with his blessing, may supply all outward

wants, while such remain within the bounds He hath fixed, and no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers in this world.

"Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others which themselves would rather be excused from, were the same required of them? Do those proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful, and in the end inflict terrible pains on our fellow-creatures and spread desolations in the world?

"Do mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each other's happiness? And do these creatures, capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their wit and strength to afflict and destroy one another? Remember then, O my soul! the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it.

"Doth He condescend to bless thee with His presence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee and walk in thee? Remember then thy station as a being sacred to God. Accept of the strength freely offered thee and take heed that no weakness in conforming to expensive, unwise, and hard-hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife, be given way to.

"Doth He claim my body as His temple and graciously grant that I may be sacred to Him? O that I may prize this favour and that my whole life may be conformable to this character![4]

[4] The last two sentences appear in the Second Quarto Manuscript.

"Remember O my soul! that the Prince of Peace is thy Lord; that He communicates His unmixed wisdom to His family, that they, living in perfect simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any creature, but that they may walk as He walked!"

Having felt an openness in my heart towards visiting families in our own Meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, where I dwelt, I mentioned it at our Monthly Meeting the fore part of the winter 1764, which being agreed to, and several Friends of our meeting being united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through Divine favour we were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly care amongst Friends. The latter part of the same winter I joined my friend William Jones* in a visit to Friends' families in Mansfield, in which labour I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord toward us his poor creatures.

My mind being drawn toward a visit to Friends along the seacoast from Cape May to near Squan, and also to visit some people in those parts, among whom there is no settled worship, I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones in a visit there, having Friends' unity therein. We set off the 24th of tenth month, 1765, and had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey, feeling at times, through the goodness of the Heavenly Shepherd, the gospel to flow freely toward a poor people scattered in these places. Soon after our return I joined my friends John Sleeper* and Elizabeth Smith in a visit to Friends' families at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our Society in that city; and we had cause humbly to adore our Heavenly Father, who baptised us into a feeling of the state of the people, and

strengthened us to labour in true Gospel love among them.

I had had a concern at times for several years to pay a religious visit to Friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Such was the nature of this exercise that I believed the Lord called me to travel on foot among them, that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse; and the time drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our Monthly Meeting, I perceived, in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he also was under a concern to travel the same way in the form of a servant among them, as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise. Being thus drawn the same way, we laid our exercise and the nature of it before Friends; and, obtaining certificates, we set off the 6th of 5th month, 1766, and were at meetings with Friends at Wilmington, Duck Creek, Little Creek, and Motherkill. My heart was often tendered under the Divine influence, and enlarged in love towards the people amongst whom we travelled.

From Motherkill we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to Tuckahoe, in Maryland, and had a meeting there, and also at Marshy Creek. At the last three meetings there were a considerable number of the followers of one Joseph Nichols,* a preacher, who, I understand, is not in outward fellowship with any religious society, but professeth nearly the same principles as our Society doth, and often travels up and down, appointing meetings to which many people come. I heard of some who had been irreligious people that were now his followers and were

become sober, well-behaved men and women. Some irregularities, I hear, have been amongst the people at several of his meetings; but from the whole of what I have perceived I believe the man and some of his followers are honestly disposed, but that skilful fathers are wanting amongst them.

We then went to Choptank and Third Haven, and thence to Queen Anne's. The weather having some days past been hot and dry, and we having travelled pretty steadily and having had hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly, at which I was for a time discouraged; but looking over our journey and thinking how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we got forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I now saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get soon through the journey, and that this bodily weakness now attending me was a kindness from above; and then, in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father for this manifestation of His love, and in humble submission to His will my trust was renewed in Him.

On this part of our journey I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by Friends who were convinced of our principles in England in times of suffering, and coming over bought lands of the natives, and applied themselves to husbandry in a peaceable way, and many of their children were taught to labour for their living. Few Friends, I believe, came from England to settle in any of the southern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling Friends in early times there was considerable

convincements amongst the inhabitants of those parts. Here I remembered reading of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in those provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives in which much blood was shed even in the infancy of the colonies. Some of the people inhabiting those places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure truth, when some of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life and joined in fellowship with our Society, had a great work to go through. It is observable in the history of the reformation from Popery that it had a gradual progress from age to age. The uprightness of the first reformers to the light and understanding given them tended to open way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterward; and thus each one truly fearing God and labouring in those works of righteousness appointed for them in their day findeth acceptance with Him. And though through the darkness of the times and the corruption of manners and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their own day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that which the same principle would lead succeeding ages into. Thus, for instance, amongst an imperious, warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters, I suppose, are awakened to feel and see their error, and through sincere repentance cease from oppression and become like fathers to their servants, showing by their example a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition of their oppressing neighbours; these, without carrying the reformation further, I believe have found acceptance with the Lord.

Such was the beginning; and those who have faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation have seen the necessity of proceeding forward, and not only to instruct others by their example in governing well, but also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind that the Lord (whose tender mercies are over all His works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed) is graciously moving the hearts of people to draw them off from the desire of wealth and bring them into such humble, lowly way of living that they may see their way clearly to repair to the standard of true righteousness, and not only break the yoke of oppression, but know Him to be their strength and support in a time of outward affliction.

We passing on crossed Chester River and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Sassafras. Through bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, it was to me a humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought that what I suffered was little compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus and many of his faithful followers; and I may say with thankfulness I was made content. From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well. For several weeks after our return I had often to look over our journey; and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in those southern provinces for Christ's sake than we had, yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity according to the understanding and strength given me.

13th of 11th mo., 1766, with the unity of Friends of our Monthly Meeting, and in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a visit to Friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawings of love in my heart that way a considerable time. We travelled as far as Hardwick and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongst them. Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the difficulties of Friends and their servants southwestward; and being often engaged in spirit on their account I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the western shore of Maryland on a religious visit. Having obtained a certificate from Friends of our Monthly Meeting I took leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of truth, and on the 20th of 4th month, 1767, rode to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's* at Derby that evening, and so pursued my journey alone and fell in at Concord Week-Day Meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress had at times attended me in this lonesome walk, but through these afflictions I was mercifully preserved. And now sitting down with Friends, my mind was turned toward the Lord to wait for His holy leadings; and in infinite love He was pleased to soften my heart into a humble contrition, and did renewedly strengthen me to go forward, that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting. The next day I fell in at New Garden Week-Day Meeting, in which I sat with bowedness of spirit, and being baptised into a feeling of the state of some present, the Lord gave us an heart-tendering season; to His name be the praise. I passed on and was at

Nottingham Monthly Meeting and at a meeting at Little Britain on first-day; in the afternoon several Friends came to the house where I lodged and we had a little afternoon meeting, and through the humbling power of truth I had to admire the loving-kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

26th of 4th month, 1767, I crossed the Susquehanna, and coming amongst people who lived in outward ease and greatness, chiefly on the labour of slaves, my heart was much affected, and in awful retiredness my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true resignation I might receive instruction from Him respecting my duty amongst this people. Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body, yet thus travelling was agreeable to the state of my mind. I went gently on, being weakly, and I was covered with sorrow and heaviness on account of the spreading prevailing spirit of this world introducing customs grievous and oppressive on the one hand and cherishing pride and wantonness on the other.

In this lonely walk and state of abasement and humiliation, the condition of the church in these parts was opened before me, and I may truly say with the Prophet, "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it." Under this exercise I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Gunpowder, and in bowedness of spirit I had to open with much plainness what I felt respecting Friends living in fulness on the labours of the poor oppressed Negroes; and that promise of the Most High was now revived, "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." Here the sufferings of Christ and His tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings, and martyrdoms

of the Apostles and primitive Christians in labouring for the conversion of the Gentiles, were livingly revived in me, and according to the measure of strength afforded I laboured in some tenderness of spirit, being deeply affected amongst them. And thus the present treatment which these Gentiles, the Negroes, receive at our hands being set side by side with the labours of the primitive Christians for the conversion of the Gentiles, things were pressed home, and the power of Truth came over us, under the feeling of which my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in those parts. The meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness toward His humble, dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded, in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as He might be pleased to lead me. I was mercifully helped to labour honestly and fervently amongst them, in which I found inward peace, and the sincere-hearted were comforted. From this place I turned towards Pipe Creek and the Red Lands, and had several meetings amongst Friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected under a sense of the Lord's goodness in sanctifying my troubles and exercises, turning them to my comfort and I believe to the benefit of many others, for I may say with thankfulness that in this visit it appeared like a fresh, tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the Western Quarterly Meeting in Pennsylvania. During the several days of this meeting I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of Truth, and my public labours tended to my own humiliation, with which I was content. After the Quar-

terly Meeting for worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting for business, which was very full; here the humility of Jesus Christ as a pattern for us to walk by was livingly opened before me, and in treating on it my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time. From thence I went on to meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, whence I returned home and found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey incites reverent thankfulness to Him.

2nd of 9th mo., 1767, with the unity of Friends, I set off on a visit to Friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks, and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodness, opened my way among Friends, and I trust made the meetings profitable to us. The following winter I joined some Friends in a family visit to some part of our meeting, in which exercise the pure influence of Divine love made our visits reviving.

5th of 5th mo., 1768, I left home under the humbling hand of the Lord, with a certificate to visit some meetings in Maryland, and to proceed without a horse looked clearest to me. I was at Quarterly Meetings at Philadelphia and Concord, and then went on to Chester River, and, crossing the bay with Friends was at the Yearly Meeting at West River; thence back again to Chester River; and, taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home, where I reached 10th day, 6th month, 1768. It was a journey of much inward waiting, and as my eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration when things appeared very difficult. In my return I felt a relief of mind very com-

fortable to me, having through the help of my Heavenly Father been strengthened to labour in much plainness of speech, both with Friends selected and in the more public meetings, so that I trust the pure witness in many minds was reached.

11th of 6th mo., 1769.—Sundry cases have happened of late years within the limits of our Monthly Meeting, respecting the exercising of pure righteousness towards the Negroes, in which I have lived under a labour of heart that equity might be steadily kept to. On this account I have had some close exercises amongst Friends, in which, I may thankfully say, I find peace. And as my meditations have been much on universal love, my own conduct in time past became of late very grievous to me. As persons setting Negroes free in our province are bound by law to maintain them in case they have need of relief, some in the time of my youth who scrupled to keep slaves for term of life were wont to detain their young Negroes in their service without wages till they were thirty years of age. With this custom I so far agreed that I, as companion to another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, once sold a Negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart I may now say that sometimes as I have sat in a meeting with my heart exercised towards that awful Being who respecteth not persons nor colours and looked on this Negro lad, I've felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him: and as I have attended to this exercise and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution; but in what way I saw not till lately, when being under some concern that I might be resigned to go on a

visit to some part of the West Indies, and under close engagement of spirit seeking to the Lord for counsel herein, that of joining in the sale aforesaid came heavily upon me, and my mind for a time was covered with darkness and sorrow. Under this sore affliction my heart was softened to receive instruction, and I now first perceived that as I had been one of the two executors who had sold this Negro nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer part of my substance to redeem the last half of the nine years; but as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me and my executors to pay to the man he was sold to what to candid men might appear equitable for the last four years and a half of his time, in case the said youth was then living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

9th, 10th month, 1769.—My heart hath often been deeply affected under a feeling I have had that the standard of pure righteousness is not lifted up to the people by us, as a society, in that clearness which it might have been had we been so faithful to the teachings of Christ as we ought to have been. And as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been made clear to my understanding, and under this exercise that of Friends being active in civil society in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteousness hath for several years past been an increasing burden upon me, having felt in the openings of universal Love that where a people convinced of the inward teachings of Christ are active in putting laws in execution which they see are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dim-

ness over their minds. And as my heart hath been thus exercised and a tender sympathy in me towards my fellow-members, I have within a few months past in several meetings for discipline expressed my concern on this subject.

CHAPTER TEN

1769–1770

Very unwell. Fears he ought to visit Barbados, and prepares to follow the call, but finally feels released from the concern. Thoughts on the connection of trade with oppression. The purchaser also responsible. Moderation is the answer. Near death from pleurisy. The place of prayer.

12th of 3rd mo., 1769.—Having for some years past dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my nose, and under this diet grew weak in body, and not having ability to travel by land so well as before, I was at times favoured to look with awfulness toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death, and to feel thankfulness incited in me toward Him for this His Fatherly chastisement, believing that if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good. While I was under this bodily weakness, my mind was at times exercised for my fellow-creatures in the West Indies, and I grew jealous over myself lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto; for, though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect. Feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to Him, I was fre-

quently engaged to watch unto prayer that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, as I walked one day in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, cries were raised in me to my merciful Father that He would graciously keep me in faithfulness; and it then settled on my mind as a duty to open my condition to Friends at our Monthly Meeting, which I did soon after as follows:—

"An exercise hath attended me for some time past and of late been more weighty upon me, under which I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some parts of the West Indies." In the Quarterly and General Spring Meetings I found no clearness to express anything further than that I believed resignation herein was required of me. Having obtained certificates from all the said meetings I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation and kept free from worldly encumbrances, and I was often bowed in spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to Him that I might be rightly directed. I may here note that the circumstance before related of my having, when young, joined with another executor in selling a Negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years was now the cause of much sorrow to me; and, after having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided a sea-store and bed, and things fitting for a voyage. Hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbados, I spake with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went on purpose to Philadelphia and spake with him again. He told me there was a Friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel. I felt no inclination to speak with the latter, but returned home. Awhile after I took leave of my family, and, going to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the

first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows:—

25th of 11th month, 1769, as an exercise with respect to a visit to Barbados hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the trials which have attended me, under which I have at times rejoiced that I have felt my own self-will subjected.

"Some years ago I retailed rum, sugar, and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves, but then had not much concern about them save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to as I now believe it ought to have been. But of late years being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the degrees that there are in connections of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness (Eph. 5:11.) I have felt an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, and it hath appeared that the small gain I got from this branch of trade should be applied in promoting righteousness in the earth. This was the first motion toward a visit to Barbados. I believed also that part of the outward substance I possess should be applied in paying my passage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose which hath been a trial for some months past, under which I have, with abasement of mind from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction, and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself because the Lord hid His face from him. During these exercises my heart hath often been contrite, and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of

my fellow-creatures, labouring under expensive customs distinguishable from the simplicity that 'there is in Christ' (II Cor. 2:3.), and sometimes in the renewings of Gospel love I have been helped to minister to others.

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in seeking to the Lord for instruction, is, whether, after so full information of the oppression which the slaves lie under who raise the West Indies produce, as I had in reading *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies,* written by Anthony Benezet,* it is right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West Indies trade or not?

"To trade freely with oppressors without labouring to dissuade them from such unkind treatment, and to seek for gain by such traffic, I believe tends to make them more easy respecting their conduct than they would be if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to by those in general with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by His prophet, 'They have strengthened the hands of the wicked,' hath very often revived in my mind. I may here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years. He longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines at war with Israel, and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army and brought that water.

"It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather that David gave way to delicacy of taste; and having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it but poured it out to the Lord. The oppression of the slaves

which I have seen in several journeys southward on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, have deeply affected me, and a care to live in the spirit of peace and minister no just cause of offense to none of my fellow-creatures hath from time to time livingly revived in my mind, and under this exercise I have for some years past declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

"I do not censure my brethren in these things, but believe the Father of Mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of these oppressed people, and is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition. Trading in or frequent use of any produce known to be raised under such lamentable oppression hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

"After long and mournful exercise I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord to further open His will to any of His children in this matter they may faithfully follow Him in such further manifestation.

"The number of those who decline the use of the West Indies produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even people truly pious; and the labours in Christian love on that subject of those who do, have not been very extensive. Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be quite stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread. Did we on this continent and the inhabitants of the West Indies generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of

wholly declining the use of trading-vessels and of trying to hire a vessel to go under ballast arose in my mind, I have believed that the labours in Gospel love yet bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness are not arrived to that height. If the trade to the West Indies was no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage-money would for good reasons be higher than it is now; and therefore, under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take advantage of this great trade and small passage-money, but, as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay if I go at this time."

The first mentioned owner, having read the paper, went with me to the other owner, who also read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation, under which I felt my soul bowed in reverence before the Most High. At length one of them asked me if I would go and see the vessel. I had not clearness in my mind to go but I went to my lodging and retired in private.

I was now under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord with inward cries that He would graciously help me under these trials. I believe my mind was resigned, but did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness and the necessity of Divine instruction were impressed upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest; under which affliction the doctrine of Christ, "Take no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me. I remembered it was some days before they expected the vessel to sail and was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness. Having been near two days in town, I believed my obedience to my Heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward; I then

went over amongst Friends on the Jersey shore and tarried till the morning on which the vessel was appointed to sail. As I laid in bed the latter part of that night my mind was comforted, and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation that it was the Lord's will that I should pass through some further exercises near home; so I went home, and still felt like a sojourner with my family. In the fresh spring of pure love I had some labours in a private way amongst Friends on a subject relating to truth's testimony, under which I had been at times exercised in heart some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, the passage in Ezekiel came fresh before me, "Whithersoever their faces were turned thither they went." And I was graciously helped to discharge my duty in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

In the course of a few weeks it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy; and after I had lain a few days and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end. I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life; and I now thought if it was the Lord's will to put an end to my labours and graciously receive me into the arms of His mercy, death would be acceptable to me; but if it was His will to further refine me under affliction, and make me in any degree useful in His church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say that in this case I felt resignedness wrought in me and had no inclination to send for a doctor, believing, if it was the Lord's will through outward means to raise me up, some sympathising Friends would be sent to minister to me, which were accordingly. But though I was carefully attended, yet the disorder was at times so heavy that I had no thoughts of recovery. One night in particular my bodily distress

was great; my feet grew cold, and the cold increased up my legs toward my body; at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply anything warm to my feet, expecting my end was near. After I had lain near ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body; but in these awful moments my mind was livingly opened to behold the church; and strong engagements were begotten in me for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-creatures. I felt in the spring of pure love that I might remain some longer in the body, to fill up according to my measure that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, in labouring for the good of the church; after which I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet, and I revived. The next night, feeling a weighty exercise of spirit and having a solid friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said, which he did as follows:—

"Fourth day of the first month, 1770, about five in the morning.—I have seen in the Light of the Lord that the day is approaching when the man that is most wise in human policies shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces; the enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and He commanded me to open the vision."

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who, at my request, wrote as follows:—

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of saints were precious incense;

and a trumpet was given to me that I might sound forth this language; that the children might hear it and be invited together to this precious habitation, where the prayers of saints, as sweet incense, arise up before the throne of God and the Lamb. I saw this habitation to be safe,—to be inwardly quiet when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

"Prayer, at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place: the trumpet is sounded; the call goes forth to the church that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe."

End of JOURNAL as left with John Pemberton
before Woolman sailed for England.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Journal of the Voyage[1]

1772

Takes ship for England on the Mary and Elizabeth, *owned by John Head, a Quaker of Philadelphia. Woolman's reasons for travelling steerage. Experiences on the voyage.*

HAVING been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit Friends in the northern parts of England and more particularly in Yorkshire, after consideration I thought it expedient to inform Friends of it at our Monthly Meeting at Burlington, who, having unity with me therein gave me a certificate. I afterwards communicated the same to our Quarterly Meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence. Some time after, at the General Spring Meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them with the religious exercise which attended my mind; and they likewise signified their unity therewith by a certificate, dated the 24th of 3rd month, 1772, directed to Friends in Great Britain.

[1] The Mount Manuscript and the Luke Howard Manuscript, here used for the first time, are the main text for the first and second half of this chapter respectively. But the editor has chosen occasional brief passages from the Swarthmore manuscript when they seemed more appropriate, as in the first thirty-one lines of this chapter. Ed.

In the 4th month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; and as my concern was principally towards the northern parts of England, it seemed most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While I was at Philadelphia deliberating on this subject I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen,* junior, intended to go to London, and had taken a passage for himself in the cabin of a ship called the *Mary and Elizabeth,* James Sparks, master, and John Head,* of the city of Philadelphia, owner; and feeling a draught in my mind toward the steerage of the same ship, I went first of all and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was towards the steerage; and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin,—a commodious room,—and then into the steerage, where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us. Then the owner of the ship, a member of our Society, soon came and sat down with us. My mind was turned towards Christ, the Heavenly Counsellor, and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before Him. A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and made no agreement as to a passage in her, but told the owner if I took a passage in her I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a friend coming to see me laid before me the great inconvenience attending that steerage with

respect to a passage in it, which for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and His love strengthened my heart. And in the morning I went with two Friends on board the vessel again, and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner, to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exercise in substance as follows in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin:—

I told the owner that on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that in a reasonable computation according to the way of men's reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment has some relation to the expense in furnishing the room to please the minds of those who choose to be conformable to this world; and that in this case, as in other cases, the monies received from passengers are calculated to pay off all the expense of these superfluities. And that in this case I felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to defray such expenses.

My mind being in some degree opened to enlarge on the subject, I told the owner that I had at several times in my travels seen great oppressions on this continent at which my heart hath been much affected and brought often into a feeling of the state of the sufferers, and having many times been engaged in the fear and love of God to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived

that a view to get riches and to provide estates for children to live conformable to customs which stand in that spirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world, that in the pursuit of these things I had seen many entangled in the spirit of oppression; and the exercise of my soul been such that I could not have peace in joining in anything which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and hearing in town that Joseph White had a mind to see me, it revived a desire to see him which I had felt before I heard of his to see me. I went then to his house, and next day home, where I tarried two nights, and then early in the morning I took leave of my family in a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me, and, going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who coming to see me appeared to be concerned for me on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel where I was likely to lodge. In these opportunities my mind was kept low in an inward waiting for divine help; and Friends having expressed their desire that I might have a place more convenient than the steerage did not urge but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having stayed two nights in Philadelphia I went the next day to Darby Monthly Meeting, where through the strength of divine Love my heart was in some degree enlarged toward the youth then present, under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of spirit amongst them. Then lodging at William Horne's I with one friend went to Chester, where meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on board the ship 1st of 5th month, 1772. As I sat down alone on a seat on the deck I felt a

satisfactory evidence in my mind that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

7th day, 5th month, 1772, have had for the most part rough weather since I came on board, and the passengers, James Reynolds,* John Till Adams,* Sarah Logan* and her hired maid, and John Bispham,* mostly sea-sick more or less except me from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my Heavenly Father, I have been preserved, my afflictions now being of another kind. There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship and in the cabin passengers toward me. We were often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin. My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preserved in a good degree watchful and inward. The only prospect which hath been clearly open before me is this, that I came on board in resignedness of mind to my Heavenly Father and have great cause to be thankful in that I feel inward quietness.

As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors, an exercise of soul hath attended me with respect to placing out children and youth where they may be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord.

Being[2] much amongst the seamen I have, from a motion of love in my heart sundry times taken opportunities with one alone and in a friendly free conversation laboured to turn their minds toward virtue. This day we

[2] I have on a few rare occasions removed the word "and" where it appears to be obstructive, as "And being much amongst," and the like. Ed.

had a meeting in the cabin with cabin passengers where my heart was contrite under a feeling of divine Love.

Now concerning training up lads to the sea, I believe some communication from one part of the world to others beyond the sea is at times consistent with the will of our Heavenly Father, and to train some lads up thereto may be right; but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! how impure are the channels through which trade hath conveyance! How great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed when placed on shipboard to learn the art of a mariner! Five lads training up for the seas were on board this ship. Two of them were brought up in our Society, one of which hath a right amongst Friends, and the other, by name James Naylor, is a member, to whose father the James Naylor mentioned in Sewel's History appears to have been uncle. I often feel a tenderness of heart toward these poor lads and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh.

O that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! O that all may learn of Christ, who is meek and low of heart, and then in faithfully following Him He will teach us to be content with food and raiment without respect to the customs or honours of this world. Men thus redeemed will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that the lowest in their station may be encouraged. And where owners of ships attain to the true Law of Liberty and walk therein, and are doers of the Word, these men will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea doth commonly sail all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time. Now rising to work in the night is not commonly pleasant in any

case but in dark rainy nights it is very unpleasant even though each man is well furnished with conveniences. But if a man must go out at midnight to watch in the rain, and having small room to sleep and place their garments in are often beset to furnish themselves for the watch through their garments or something relating to their business being wanting and not easily found when from the urgency occasioned by high winds they are hastened and called up suddenly, here is a trial of patience on the poor sailors[3] and the poor lads their companions. If, after they have been on deck four hours in the night they come down into the steerage soaking wet and are so close stowed that proper convenience for change of garments is not easily come at, but their wet garments are thrown in heaps and often walked upon in some getting to their lodge, and hard sometimes in the night each to find his own, here are difficulties for the poor sailors.

Now as I have been with them in my lodge my heart hath often yearned for them, and tender desires have been raised in me that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the Love of God and therein act uprightly and by seeking less for gain and looking more carefully to their ways may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from sailors, and where lads are bound apprentice to the trade of mariners that nothing may be wanting on their part toward training them up in the fear of the Lord. Great reformation is wanting! And at this time the necessity of it amongst them that do business in great waters hath been opened before me.

8th day, 5th month, this morning the clouds gathered,

[3] The phrase "on the poor sailors . . ." is added from the Swarthmore Manuscript.

the wind blew strong southeastward and before noon increased to that degree that sailing appeared dangerous. The seamen then binding up some of their sails and taking some down, endeavoured to prepare, and the storm continuing and increasing they put the deadlights, so called, in the cabin and lighted a candle to see by. The wind blew vehemently and the sea wrought to that degree that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin in which I spent I believe about 17 hours, which thus fell out—that is I left my lodging very early to walk the deck and the storm coming on I believed the poor toiling wet seamen had need of all the room in the steerage, and I having been invited to the cabin before by a general invitation from those in it, now went there. They ceased now from sailing and put the vessel in the posture called lying-to.

My mind in this tempest was graciously preserved in a good degree of resignation, and felt at times a few words to my shipmates arising in the love of truth in regard to the All-sufficiency of Him who formed the deep and whose care is so extensive that a sparrow falls not without His notice; and thus in a tender frame of mind spoke to them respecting the necessity of our obediently yielding to the instructions of our Heavenly Father, who at times through distress as to the outward aimeth at our refinement.

About eleven at night I went on the deck, when the wind blew vehemently and the high breaking waves of the sea had in some sort the appearance of fire, but not to give much light. I observed that the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck, and, though he said little, I apprehended his care was that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of

any extremity. The seaman then at the helm said he lately saw a corposant high up at the top of the mast and believed the wind would soon abate, which after some time it did and before day they put the ship on her way under small sail.

10th day, 5th month, and first of the week, it being fine weather we had a meeting in the cabin at which the chief part of the seamen were present. This meeting to me was a strengthening time.

13th day, 5th month. As I continue to lodge in the steerage I am free to express the state of my mind some further in respect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing.

As I believe sailing is of use in the world, a labour of soul attends me that the pure counsel of truth may be humbly waited for in this case by all concerned in the business of the seas. A pious father whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child may not with a peaceful mind place him out to an employment amongst people in his youth whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. So great is the present defect amongst seafaring men in regard to virtue, and through an abundant traffic and many ships of war so many are employed on the seas, that this subject appears to be very weighty, as profane examples are always corrupting. Great and extensive is that depravity which prevails amongst the poor sailors.[4]

And as my mind hath been day after day and night after night affected with sorrow on this account, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with several sailors in the steerage, who have appeared to take kindly what I have said and to be respectful to me, but their minds

[4] This sentence is from the Swarthmore MS.

have appeared to be so deeply impressed with that almost universal depravity among sailors that their answers to me on this subject have brought to my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews in the days of Jeremiah who said "there is no hope."

Now under this exercise a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us hath appeared grievous, and a strong call been raised in my heart to the professed followers of Christ that they take heed lest through loving the present world they be found in a continued neglect of duty in respect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence as to every motion proceeding from the love of money and an inward waiting upon God for His will concerning us hath now appeared necessary. He alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all that which lies between us and the firm foundation, and in that wisdom which is pure direct our proceedings in all the employments required of us in this world. Desires proceeding from the spirit of truth are very pure desires; and when a mind divinely opened toward a young generation beholds corrupting examples powerfully operating and extensively spreading among them, how moving is the prospect! A great trade to the coast of Africa for slaves, of which I now heard frequent conversation amongst[5] the sailors! A great trade in that which is raised and prepared through grievous oppression! A great trade in superfluity of workmanship, formed to please the vanity of people's mind! And great is the danger before us! How safe are His leadings who is the good Shepherd! How desirable the spreading of His kingdom on earth where Truth and Equity are always prevalent,

[5] In the Swarthmore MS "of" was used.

where the lowest and meanest as to outward descent are treated in such sort that the pure witness in their mind is reached.

7th day morning, 16th of 5th month, 1772—Wind for several days past high, often light showers and a very rough sea. This last night [has been] a very trying night to the seamen; the water chief part of the night running over the main-deck and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter-deck. My mind the latter part of the night as I lay in bed was humbled under the seasoning virtue of Truth and brought into a calm resignation to the Great Creator of the earth and the seas whose Fatherly care over His contrite children felt very precious to my soul. Desires were renewed in me to walk before Him in faithfulness and to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour diligently according to the strength given me for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven. The frequent opportunities of hearing conversation amongst the sailors in respect to the voyages to Africa and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands. The thoughts of their condition, frequently in chains and fetters on board the vessels, with hearts loaded with grief under the apprehension of miserable slavery. My mind opened to meditate on these things, my own lodging now in the steerage, with the advantage of walking the deck when I would, appeared a commodious situation compared with theirs.[6]

17th day, 5th month, and first of the week—We had a meeting in the cabin, to which the seamen generally

[6] This reading "The frequent opportunities . . . with theirs." is from the Swarthmore MS.

came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord whose love at this time affected my heart. This afternoon felt a very tender sympathy of soul with my poor wife and family left behind, in which state my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support through all the difficulties in this world; a sense of that[7] gracious assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them, to travel in the love of Truth hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

24th day, 5th month, and first of the week.[8] A clear, pleasant morning. As I sat on deck I felt a reviving in my nature, which through much rainy weather and high winds and being shut up in a close, unhealthy air, was heavily oppressed. Several nights of late I felt breathing so very much interrupted by the closeness and disagreeableness of the air that a little after the rising of the second watch, (which is about midnight) I got up and stood I believe near an hour and put my mouth near the crack under the hatch which was shut down, partly to keep rain out, and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage.

I may with thankfulness to the Father of Mercies acknowledge that in my present weak state my mind hath been supported to bear it with patience. The affliction at present is but small, and I have looked at it as a kindness from the Great Parent of mankind who under this my floating pilgrimage is in some small degree

[7] The Mount Manuscript fragment ends here. The rest of the sentence is taken from the Swarthmore Manuscript.

[8] Here begins the Luke Howard Manuscript. Its wrapper bore the inscription: *I, John Woolman, desire John Townsend of London to keep this paper for me—John Woolman."*

bringing me to feel that which many thousands of my fellow-creatures suffer.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God the Fountain of comfort, whose inward help hath supplied at times the want of outward convenience. And strong desires I feel in me that His family who are acquainted with the movings of His Holy Spirit may be faithful thereto, and so redeemed from the love of money, so redeemed from corrupt customs, that in all business either by sea or land we may constantly keep in view the coming of His kingdom on earth as it is in heaven. Then on our part by attending to this safe guide we may in all employments show forth an example tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabin in which I had some experience of that saying of the prophet that the Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress; for which I feel thankfulness in my heart to Him.

28th day, 5th month, 1772. Wet weather of late, small winds, dull sailing, inclining at times to calm. Our seamen have at several times cast a lead, and sounded I suppose about one hundred fathom but find no bottom. Foggy weather this morning.

Through the merciful kindness of the great Preserver of men my mind remains quiet, and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me for the increase of the government of the Prince of Peace. The leading on of a young generation in that pure way in which the wisdom of this world hath no part—where an inward awfulness of soul in parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly

Counsellor, may be so evident that their example may be instructive to the youth, and as helps in the Church labour faithfully against those corrupt customs which so grievously entangle the present age—this for several days past hath been the inward exercise of my mind.

Oh, how safe, how quiet, is that state where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ the Good Shepherd and a watchful care maintained not to follow the voice of a stranger! In the love of money the voice of the stranger finds entrance. In the love of money the eye is not single to God. In the love of money the understanding is closed up against the pure counsel of Truth, and thus becomes darkened.

Now in the pure counsel of Truth people are brought to a stability, and where Christ doth not lead they are bound in the bonds of everlasting love to stand still and wait for him.

In the love of money and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of affairs push forward, nor can the mind in this state discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

Thus the love of God is manifest in calling to us to come out of that which stands in confusion; but if we bow not in the name of Jesus, if we give not up those prospects of gain which in the wisdom of this world are open before us but say in our hearts, "I must needs go on, and in going on I will be careful to keep as near the purity of Truth as the business before me will admit of," the mind remains entangled and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed.

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation that in His fear we may be instructed and led safely on through the great difficulties and perplexities in this

present age. In an entire subjection of our wills the Lord graciously opens a way for His people, where all their wants are bounded by His wisdom, and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation as a purification from sin.

In the purifying love of Christ we are washed in the water of separation; we are brought off from that business, from that gain and from that fellowship which was not agreeable to His holy will. I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in His infinite love, is calling to His visited children to so give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures that His Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts and direct them in all their proceedings. To feel and understand the substance pointed at in this figure many must enter into that state of humiliation where all flesh is silent.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over like a hairy garment. In Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation a red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times towards the tabernacle of the congregation; then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, was to be burnt without the camp, and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus, the crucifying the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind which is death. "He who toucheth the dead body of a man and purifieth not himself with the water of separation defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean." (Num. 29:13.)

If any through the love of gain engage in business

wherein they dwell as among the tombs and touch the bodies of those who are dead, should through the infinite love of God feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the Divine Leader, here is the judgment of this world, here the prince of this world is cast out. The water of separation is felt; and though we have been among the slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man, yet in the purifying love of Christ we are washed in the water of separation.

No man can see God and live; this was uttered by the Almighty to the prophet Moses. And the mind at this day divinely enlightened feels that in losing our life for Christ's sake, the understanding is quickened, and a new life is formed in us. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of Universal Righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. No man hath seen the Father save he that is of God, he hath seen the Father.

The natural mind is active about the things of this life, and in this natural activity business is proposed and a will is in us to go forward in it. And as long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction against clearness of Divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart and with all our strength, then in this love we love our neighbours as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people even such who, as to outward circumstances, may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. "Who is my neighbour?" See this question answered by our Saviour. (Luke 10:30.) In this love we can say that Jesus is the Lord, and in the reformation in our souls,

manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God (II Cor. 5:18.), in this the desire of gain is subjected. When the mind is wholly turned to seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness, then we learn to employ our time and our strength rightly, and feel it necessary to be diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.

Thus the meaning of the name is opened: This is the name wherewith He shall be called THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Some having large possessions and not dwelling in the pure fear of the Lord but going on arraying themselves in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day, these open a channel for business which serves to please that mind which wanders and the pursuit hath a tendency to a great increase of labour like that mentioned by the prophet where people labour as in the fire and weary themselves with very vanity.

And many poor people, not abiding under the inward teaching of Christ where the mind learns contentment in the will of God, these often watch the opportunities of getting gain in gratifying the wrong desires of the wealthy; and the wealthy to support their expensive customs lay heavy burdens on those through whose hands their wealth is gathered. Thus business goęs on in the spirit of error, and youth are trained up in that which tends to harden their hearts against the pure inward leadings of Christ.

The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer, and for promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches that in their employments they become extensively careful to

give none offence neither to Jews nor heathens nor the church of Christ.

31st day, 5th month, and first of the week, had a meeting in the cabin with near all the ship's company, the whole being near thirty. In this Meeting the Lord in mercy favored us with the extending of His love.

2nd day, 6th month, 1772, last evening the seamen found bottom at about seventy fathom. This morning, a fair wind and pleasant weather, and as I sat on deck, my heart was overcome with the love of Christ, and melted into contrition before Him. In this state the prospect of the work to which I believe I am called being livingly opened before me, I felt as a little child; and in this humbled state my prayers were put up to my Gracious Redeemer that He by the help of His holy Spirit may preserve me in a humble dependence on Him where my soul may be strengthened with His Love and kept inwardly waiting for His counsel.

This afternoon saw that part of England called the Lizard, and with a pleasant breeze of wind stood our course and sailed along in plain sight of the green fields before night.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained alive of those which the passengers took for eating on the way. I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck, and near as many died with a pining sickness at different times. I observed the cocks crew coming down Delaware and while we were near the land, but afterward I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the land in England, when they crowed again a little. In observing their dull appearance at sea and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the Fountain of goodness

who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to caring for the sparrows. I believe where the love of God is verily perfected and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness toward all creatures made subject to us will be experienced and a care felt in us that we do not lessen that sweetness of life in the animal creation which the great Creator intends for them under our government: and believe a less number carried off to eat at sea may be more agreeable to this pure wisdom.

4th day, 6th month, 1772, wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of danger of missing the channel, which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter, and they saw the land and knew where we were. Thus the Father of Mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers, and then graciously, from time to time, deliver us from them; thus sparing our lives, that in humility and reverence we might walk before Him and put our trust in Him. About noon a pilot came off from Dover and my beloved friends Samuel Emlen and Sarah Logan landed here with a view to go in a stage coach to London it being about 72 miles.

Parting with Samuel at this time was a trial upon me, to go on shore felt most agreeable to my will. The Yearly Meeting at London was now near, and though the passage of water is in some places a narrow channel in a wide water in which are many shoals, yet to stay longer in the ship felt most to my inward peace.

7th day, 6th month, and first of the week, clear morning; lay at anchor for the tide in the River Thames, and had a meeting in the cabin with the ship's company to which the seamen generally came. A pilot also was with

us. In this meeting my heart was deeply engaged in fervent labour and way opened in the love of the gospel to express in the hearing of my poor shipmates the sailors some of the precious effects of Divine Love operating on our minds, and to encourage them to feel after that which preserves from sin and gives that peace which is superior to the terrors of Death.

Had a head-wind up the Thames; lay sometimes at anchor; saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near; and I had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live.

That lamentable degeneracy which so much prevails on the people employed on the seas so affected my heart that I may not easily convey the feeling I have had to another, but this I may say, that the present state of the seafaring life in general appears to be so foreign from the meekness and piety of a soul devoted to God, and appears to be so full of corruption and bad examples extremely dangerous to youth that in looking toward the everlasting happiness of a young generation I feel the most tender desires in my soul that they may have an education different from the present one of lads at sea, and that all of us who are acquainted with the love of Christ may lay this condition to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandise across the seas, and so abide in the love of Christ that, being delivered from the love of money and the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate, and luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little, and promote the seafaring life no further than that spirit which leads into all truth attends us in our proceedings.[9]

[9] Here ends the Luke Howard Manuscript.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1772

Attends London Yearly Meeting. Travels on foot through England, avoiding the stage-coaches. Many Meetings with Friends. His comments on the English social order.

8th da: 6th mo:, 1772: landed at London, and went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, which had been gathered about, I suppose, half an hour.[1]

In this meeting my mind was humbly contrite. In the afternoon the meeting of business opened, which by adjournments held near a week. In these meetings I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of Truth. My heart was enlarged in the meetings of ministers, the meeting of business, and in several meetings for public worship, and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting from various parts.

1st da: 6th mo: left London and went on 17th to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford.

1st da: 7th mo: 1772, I have been at Quarterly Meetings at Sherrington, at Northampton, at Banbury, and at Shipton, and have had sundry meetings between. My

[1] The Swarthmore MS is followed in this chapter.

mind hath been bowed under a sense of Divine goodness manifested amongst us; my heart hath often been enlarged in true love both among ministers and elders and in public meetings, and through the Lord's goodness I believe it hath been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth.

17th da: 7th mo: was this day at Birmingham; I have been at meetings at Coventry, at Warwick, in Oxfordshire, and sundry places, and have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; but through His tender mercies I find peace in the labours I have gone through.

26th da: 7th mo: 1772, have continued travelling northward visiting meetings. Was this day at Nottingham which in the forenoon especially was, through Divine love, a heart-tendering season. Next day I had a meeting in a Friend's house with Friends' children which through the strengthening arm of the Lord was a time to be thankfully remembered.

2nd da: 8th mo: 1st of week, was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town. I was at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that Divine support which hath been graciously extended to me. On the 9th I was at Rushworth. I have lately passed through some painful labour, but have been comforted under a sense of that Divine visitation which I feel extended toward many young people.

16th da: 8th mo. and 1st of the week, was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of inward poverty, under which my mind hath been preserved in a watchful, tender state, feeling for the mind of the Holy Leader, and I find peace in the labours I have passed through.

In inquiry in many places I find the price of rye about five shillings; wheat, eight shillings per bushel; oatmeal,

twelve shillings for a hundred and twenty pounds; mutton, from threepence to fivepence per pound; bacon, from sevenpence to ninepence; cheese from fourpence to sixpence; butter from eightpence to tenpence; house-rent for a poor man from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for fire very scarce and dear; coal in some places two shillings and sixpence per hundredweight; but near the pits not a quarter so much. Oh, may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties toward London at tenpence a day in common business, the employer finds small beer and the labourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay time wages are about one shilling a day and the labourer hath all his diet. In some parts of the north of England poor labouring men have their food where they work and appear in common to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women who spin in the factories get some fourpence, some fivepence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine, or tenpence a day and find their own house-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the southern parts of England and some in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not taught to read. May those who have plenty lay these things to heart!

Stage-coaches frequently go upwards of a hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard Friends say in several places that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and many others are driven till they grow blind. These coaches running chief part of the night do often run over foot people in the dark. Post-boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night

through the winter. Some boys who ride long stages suffer greatly in winter nights, and at several places I have heard of their being froze to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world that in aiming to do business quick and to gain wealth the creation at this day doth loudly groan.

As my journey hath been without a horse I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in these stage-coaches but have not been in them, nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts. In the present way of their riding, the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependent on another as to time, that they commonly go upward of 100 miles in 24 hours, and in the cold long winter nights the poor boys suffer much. I heard in America of the way of these posts, and cautioned Friends in the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia and in the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at London, not to send letters to me on any common occasion by post. And though on this account I may be likely to hear seldom from the family I left behind, yet for righteousness' sake I am, through Divine favour, made content.

I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this island on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of business and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves; and in loading these ships abundance of people are employed in the factories, amongst whom are many of our Society. Friends in early times refused on a religious principle to make trade in superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record; but for want of faithfulness some gave way, even some whose examples were of note in our Society and from thence

others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities and bought and sold them, and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress and in the furniture of their houses, which hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common among us.

In this declining state many look at the example one of another and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter and get down to the rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound; and I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the truth keep in that tenderness of heart where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only in the Lord, He will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages to such as they may hire more liberally than is now customary in some places.

23rd da: 8th mo: was this day at Preston Patrick. Here I dreamed of Mother. Had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of Friends who had sundry things about them which had the appearance of outward greatness, and as I have kept inward, way hath opened for conversation in private in which Divine goodness hath favoured us together with heart-tendering times.

A deviation amongst us as a Society from that simplicity that there is in Christ becoming so general; and the

trade from this island to Africa for slaves, and other trades carried on through oppressive channels and abundance of the inhabitants being employed in factories[2] to support a trade in which there is unrighteousness, and some growing outwardly great by gain of this sort, the weight of this degeneracy hath lain heavy upon me. The depth of this revolt hath been evident, and desires in my heart have been ardent for a reformation that we might come to that right use of things where living on a little we might inhabit that holy Mountain on which they neither hurt nor destroy, and may not only stand clear from oppressing our fellow-creatures, but may be so disentangled from connections in interest with known oppressors that in us may be fulfilled that prophecy Thou shalt be far from oppression. Under the weight of this exercise the sight of innocent birds in the branches and sheep in the pastures, who act according to the will of their Creator, hath at times tended to mitigate my trouble.

26th da: 8th mo: being now at George Crosfield's, in Westmorland county in England I feel a concern to commit to writing that which to me hath been a case uncommon.

In a time of sickness with the pleurisy, upward of two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed in with them so that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several

[2] These were hand factories. The day of steam factories had not yet come. See *John Woolman, American Quaker,* chap. XLI.

hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any voice I had heard with my ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels; the words were, "John Woolman is dead." I soon remembered that I once was John Woolman, and being assured that I was alive in the body I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel, but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved for His name to me was precious. Then I was informed that these heathens were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ, and they said amongst themselves: "If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant."

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery; and in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bedside I asked them if they knew who I was and they telling me I was John Woolman thought I was only light-headed, for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to anyone, but was very desirous to get so deep that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time I at length felt a Divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak, and I then said: "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. And the life I now live in the flesh is by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and

gave Himself for me." Then the mystery was opened and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented, and that the language "John Woolman is dead" meant no more than the death of my own will.

Now my natural understanding returned as before, and here I saw that people getting silver vessels to set off their tables at entertainments was often stained with worldly glory, and that in the present state of things I should take heed how I fed myself from out of silver vessels. Going to our Monthly Meeting soon after my recovery, I dined at a Friend's house where drink was brought in silver vessels and not in any other. Wanting something to drink, I told him my case with weeping, and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel. I afterwards went through the same exercise in several Friends' houses in America, as well as in England, and I have cause to acknowledge with humble reverence the loving kindness of my Heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that subject.

After this sickness I spake not in public meetings for worship for near one year,[3] but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves as I sat in Meetings; and it was to me a time of abundance of weeping: and though I think I never felt the spring of the ministry opened in me more powerfully yet being not free to speak the gift had way in my heart in contrition. It being so long since I passed through this dispensation and the matter remaining fresh and lovingly on my mind, I believe it safest for me to write it.

[3] This was the year when John Woolman adopted his singular dress of undyed cloth. See *John Woolman, American Quaker,* chap. XXX.

30th da.: 8th mo: 1772 This morning I wrote a letter in substance as follows:—

Beloved Friend,[4] My mind is often affected as I pass along under a sense of the state of many poor people who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; and the loving kindness of our Heavenly Father in opening a pure Gospel ministry in this nation hath often raised thankfulness in my heart to Him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift uninterrupted by outward laws as a trust committed to us which requires our deepest gratitude and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern that the work of reformation so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past may go forward and spread among the nations and may not go backward through dust gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work so great and so precious.

Last evening in thy absence I had a little opportunity with some of thy family in which I rejoiced, and feeling a sweetness on my mind toward thee I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

I have heard that you in these parts have at certain seasons Meetings of Conference in relation to Friends living up to our principles, in which several meetings unite in one. With this I feel unity, having in some measure felt truth lead that way among Friends in America, and I have found, my dear friend, that in these labours all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love towards thee in which there is freedom.

I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee with aw-

[4] Rachel Wilson of Kendal. *Ibid.*, chap. XLII.

fulness before Him who gave it, and feel a care that we may be so separated to the gospel of Christ that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world may have no place among us.

Thy friend,

JOHN WOOLMAN.

I rested a few days in body and mind with our friend Jane Crosfield,* who was once in America. On the sixth day of the week I was at Kendal, in Westmorland, and Greyrig Meeting the 30th day: 8th mo: and first of the week. I have known poverty of late and been graciously supported to keep in the patience, and am thankful under a sense of the goodness of the Lord toward those who are of a contrite spirit.

6th da: 9th mo: and first of the week. I was this day at Counterside, a large meeting-house and very full. Through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

13th da: 9th mo: This day I was at Leyburn, a small meeting: but, the towns-people coming in, the house was crowded. It was a time of heavy labour, and I believe was a profitable meeting. At this place I heard that my kinsman, William Hunt,* from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the ninth of this month, of the small-pox, at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth, and his labours therein were of good savour. He travelled much in work in America and I remember to have heard say that his concern in that visit was to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself, which words, joined with his

example, was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late travelled often in wet weather and through narrow streets in towns and villages where was dirtiness under foot and the scent arising from that filth which more or less infects the air of all thick settled towns was disagreeable, and being but weakly, I have felt distress both in body and mind with that which is impure. In these journeys I have been where much cloth hath been dyed, and sundry times walked over ground where much of their dye-stuffs has drained away. This hath produced a longing in my mind that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments.

Some who are great carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet the real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, when travelling in dirtiness and affected with unwholesome scents, a strong desire that the nature of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered.

To hide dirt in our garments is opposite to real cleanliness; to wash garments and keep them sweet this appears cleanly. Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments a spirit which would conceal that which is disagreeable is strengthened. Real cleanness becometh a holy people; but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments seems contrary to the sweetness of sincerity. Through some sorts of dyes cloth is rendered less useful. And if the value of dye-stuffs, and expense of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth, were all added together, and that cost applied to keep all sweet and clean, how much more cleanly would people be.[5]

[5] End of the Swarthmore Manuscript.

Account of John Woolman's Death

A FEW days after writing these considerations,[1] our dear friend in the course of his religious visits came to the city of York and attended most of the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting there, but before it was over he was taken ill of the small-pox. Our friend Thomas Priestman and others who attended him preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness.

First day, the 27th of the ninth month, 1772.—His disorder appeared to be the small-pox. Being asked to have a doctor's advice he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to His will who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before when he seemed nigh unto death, and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him; but a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other Friends about him, and if anything should be proposed as to medicine that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

[1] This account written by William Tuke has frequent references to Thomas Priestman's journal. For the full story see *John Woolman, American Quaker.*

Second day.—He said he felt the disorder to affect his head so that he could think little and but as a child, and desired, if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against.

Third day.—He uttered the following prayer: "O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent; that I had called Thee Father; and I felt that I loved Thee, and I was made quiet in my will, and I waited for deliverance from Thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of Thy Son, and thou taught me to follow Him, and I said 'Thy will, O Father, be done!' "

Fourth day morning.—Being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, "I don't know that I have slept this night; I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace." Some time after, he said he was sensible that the pains of death must be hard to bear, but if he escaped them now he must some time pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the Divine protection, adding,

"Though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I have freely given them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." And a little after said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night, a young woman having given him something to drink, he said, "My child, thou seemest very kind to me, a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it." Awhile after he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, "O my Father! my Father!" and soon after he said, "O my Father! my Father! how comfortable art Thou to my soul in this trying season!" Being asked if he could take a little nourishment, after some pause he replied, "My child, I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind; and I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles, but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for." He said he had laboured to do whatever was required according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and though the disorder was strong at times, and would, like a whirlwind, come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept steady and centred in everlasting love; adding, "And if that be mercifully continued, I ask and desire no more." Another time he said he had long had a view of visiting this nation and, some time before he came, had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and

that the spring of the Gospel was opened in him much as it was in the beginning of Friends such as George Fox and William Dewsbury, and he saw the different states of the people as clear as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but, looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears, which waked him.

At another time he said, "My draught seemed strongest towards the north, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting, that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there, looked like home to me."

Fifth day night.—Having repeatedly consented to take medicine, but without effect, the friend then waiting on him said through distress, "What shall I do now?" He answered with great composure, "Rejoice evermore, and in everything give thanks"; but added a little after, "This is sometimes hard to come at."

On sixth day morning he broke forth early in supplication on this wise, "O Lord, it was Thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt Thy bruises for disobedience; but as I bowed under them Thou healedst me, continuing a Father and a Friend; I feel Thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment Thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto Thee." On his giving directions to a friend concerning some little things, she said, "I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyself." He replied, "My hope is in Christ; and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved, and if it so happen I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help

mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time, he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and He can work as He sees best." The same day he had given directions about wrapping his corpse; perceiving a friend to weep, he said, "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over, and matters well settled; and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is His voice, and His countenance is comely."

First day, 4th of tenth month.—Being very weak, and, in general, difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness, and added, "How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say in Job's words, 'Tedious days and wearisome nights are appointed to me'; and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their distresses at such a time as this in some degree softened by the administering of suitable things."

Second day morning.—The apothecary, who appeared very anxious to assist him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body; and the apothecary making some remarks implying he thought it might, he spoke with an audible voice on this wise: "My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for; and if it be His will to raise this body again I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; but if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit." After which his throat was so much affected

that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted anything. About the second hour on fourth-day morning he asked for pen and ink, and at several times, with much difficulty, wrote thus: "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death."

About a quarter before six the same morning he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when, seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan or struggle.[2]

[2] For the Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire and in Burlington, New Jersey, *see* Appendices A and B.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

The Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire at their Quarterly Meeting, held at York the 24th and 25th of the third month, 1773, concerning John Woolman, of Mount Holly, in the Province of New Jersey, North America, who departed this life at the house of our Friend Thomas Priestman, in the suburbs of this city, the 7th of tenth month, 1772, and was interred in the burial-ground of Friends the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.

THIS our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for some time to visit Friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same in full concurrence and near sympathy with his friends and brethren at home, as appeared by certificates from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to which he belonged, and from the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London the beginning of the last Yearly Meeting, and, after attending that meeting, travelled northward visiting the Quarterly Meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Worcestershire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He visited many meetings on the west side of this country, also some in Lancashire and Westmorland,

from whence he came to our Quarterly Meeting in the last ninth month, and though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the sittings of that meeting except the last.

His disorder, which proved the small-pox, increased speedily upon him, and was very afflicting, under which he was supported in much meekness, patience, and Christian fortitude. To those who attended him in his illness, his mind appeared to be centred in Divine love under the precious influence whereof we believe he finished his course, and entered into the mansions of everlasting rest.

In the early part of his illness he requested a Friend to write, and he broke forth thus:—

"O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand and stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depth of misery, O Lord! I remembered that Thou art omnipotent, that I had called Thee Father, and I felt that I loved Thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from Thee; Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me; I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of Thy Son, and Thou taught me to follow Him, and I said, 'Thy will, O Father, be done.' "

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published in print.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity,

and being obedient to the manifestations of Divine Grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his church. Dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the Divine Hand, so that the spring of the Gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God. Skilful in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the people where his lot was cast. His conduct at other times was seasoned with like watchful circumspection and attention to the guidance of Divine wisdom, which rendered his whole conversation uniformly edifying.

He was fully persuaded that as the life of Christ comes to reign on the earth, all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation, will come to an end; but under the sense of a deep revolt and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, his life has been often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making slaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that state, and on that account we understand he hath not only written some books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the Negro-masters (especially those in profession with us) sensible of the evil of such a practice, and though in this journey to England he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind and frequent concern to open the miserable state of this deeply injured people remained, as appears by a

short treatise he wrote in this journey. His testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this subject, wherein he remarked that as we as a Society, when under outward sufferings, had often found it our concern to lay them before those in authority, and thereby, in the Lord's time, had obtained relief, so he recommended this oppressed part of the creation to our notice, that we may, as way may open, represent their sufferings in an individual, if not in a Society capacity, to those in authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclination in luxury and superfluities is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great self-denial with respect to the things of this life, and earnestly to labour with Friends in the meekness of wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our testimony in these things, recommending to the guidance of the blessed truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein against contenting themselves with acting to the standard of others, but to be careful to make the standard of truth manifested to them the measure of their obedience. For, said he, "that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the spirit of truth, that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by His wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us."

We conclude with fervent desires that we as a people may thus by our example promote the Lord's work in the

earth, and, our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in His infinite wisdom he hath greatly stripped the church by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders. He may be pleased to send forth many more faithful labourers into his harvest.

APPENDIX B

A Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Friends held in Burlington, the First Day of the Eighth Month, in the Year of our Lord, 1774, concerning our esteemed friend, John Woolman, deceased.

He was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington and province of West New Jersey, in the eighth month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian religion as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him even in his younger years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But through the workings of the enemy and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance that was finally succeeded by a "godly sorrow not to be repented of"; and so he became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age; and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the stage of a father, capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto, dispensing milk to babes, and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, in his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to His people." He was a loving husband, a tender father, and was very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction was evident by his visits to them, whom he frequently relieved by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he mentioned, lay almost continually upon him; and he laboured to obtain liberty for those captives both in public and in private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burdens on this oppressed people, but should remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that, if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence for His interposition and relief, being particularly careful as to himself not to countenance slavery even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own mind and the minds of others redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which, appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible, avoided the use of plate, costly furniture, and feasting, thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto; and he was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance

of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and though a man of industry, avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiety after perishable things, being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly for the instruction of poor Friends' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youth among us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them to choose conscientious and pious tutors, saying "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children"; and that "to labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom lead into, frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the Divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of the discipline his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in

treating with those who had done amiss; he visited such in a private way in that plainness which truth dictates, showing great tenderness and Christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly Meeting, in which he was a good example and particularly useful, assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and in the neighbouring provinces with the concurrence of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe he had good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his handwriting the following observation and reflections:

> As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away, so this list may probably revive a like thought in some when I and the rest of the persons above named are centred in another state of being. The Lord who was the guide of my youth hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; He hath healed my wounds; He hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; He remains to be the strength of my life; to whom I desire to devote myself in time and in eternity.
>
> JOHN WOOLMAN

In the twelfth month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious

visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the first month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and endorsed by our Quarterly Meeting and by the Half-Year's Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the fifth month, and arrived in London in the sixth month following, at the time of their Annual Meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being "resigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the testimony of Friends at York in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the small-pox, on the 7th of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in Friends' burial-ground in that city, on the 9th of the same, after a solid meeting held on the occasion at their great meeting-house. He was aged near fifty-two, having been a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed truth we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in and by order of the said meeting, by

SAMUEL ALLINSON, *Clerk.*

Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held at Burlington, the 29th of the eighth month, 1774.

Signed by order of the said meeting,

DANIEL SMITH, *Clerk.*

APPENDIX C

Letter from Esther Tuke[1] to Samuel Emlen

On the Illness and Death of John Woolman

York, 14th of 10th mo., 1772.

DEAR FRIEND,—Under the humbling dispensation we have lately passed through, my mind hath many times been drawn near to thee; and after the departure of our dear friend, John Woolman, there seemed a strong inclination to salute thee with a few lines, to let thee know a little how he was in the course of his painful affliction; and though it may seem rather a repetition, as several accounts have been sent to London, yet, as no one was more with him, nor had greater opportunities to observe the state of his mind, a few hints concerning him, with a copy of some expressions dropped at sundry times, I believe will not be unacceptable. He was exceedingly afraid from the first of giving needless trouble to any, but his disorder increasing so much that constant attendance was necessary, he desired I would stay with him, and not sleep out of the house till I saw an alteration, which I very willingly complied with; and though it was exceedingly trying to see him labour under unspeakable affliction and could render so little relief, yet I have many times been thankful, in being favoured to attend him; for as I never saw one bear so much before, so I never beheld the like fortitude, patience, and resig-

[1] William Tuke's wife and Woolman's chief nurse.

nation—his hope and confidence was so strong and firmly fixed, that the greatest storms of affliction were not able to move him, or even cause him to utter an impatient word—indicating he thought anything too hard; and though he was not free to take much medicines, yet, he attended so much the progress of the disorder, and his own feelings, as to what was suited for healing or cause nourishment, that our apothecary (a man we think of singular judgment in that complaint, not a Friend) said, he did not know he could be better ordered than he ordered himself; except toward the last he seemed to need something more cordial, which he was not unwilling to take; but his throat was then so closed, that he could not swallow but with the greatest difficulty; and often strove, when it was distressing to see him under his great weakness, and the pain it occasioned; and at times he quietly said, "I believe I must in a little time give it over and try no more"; and it seemed twice wholly closed up. But as a further detail of these painful circumstances cannot be of use, and exceedingly afflicting to me to relate, I shall leave them and say, though he appeared to us in some things singular, and the path he trod, straiter than the liberty some of us have thought the truth gives, yet I may say to thee, that I cannot help thinking it was the way truth led him; and though it is not for us to endeavour to step into the same strait way, except from the like call, yet we may be thankful that we are allowed more liberty, and can in a more comfortable manner enjoy the temporal blessings afforded us; and, at looking at this, and at the little comfort he had, it was cause of humbling to my mind and brought to an enquiry, what returns I made, and whether I walked answerable to what I enjoyed far beyond merit; and I some-

times thought his singlar and abstemious way so striking and conspicuous, may be a means to draw divers others to the like examination; and I know nothing in this luxurious and licentious age, more likely to begin a reformation, than a solid consideration of this sort; for do not we see how pride, superfluities in meats, drinks, and apparel, abound amongst us, and like a torrent, seems to carry all before them, and I think cry aloud for a stop; for my part, the prospect is often so distressing, on account of training up our own children, and the like difficulties other religious parents lay under, that my life is frequently a life of mourning and lamentation, for it seems scarce possible to bring them up in the way we would have them walk; and if we could, there seems little probability, without something extraordinary, that they would be kept in it, such is the example—such the giving way in general; and with sorrow it may be said so, of many that should be leaders. And if this good man's example in life and in death, should have a tendency (as I hope it may) to draw some to consider and inspect a little closer than they have hitherto done, we should be careful how we take off the weight, by blaming a singularity, which, if compared with our holy pattern, we shall find I think not far out of the way. And now I hope, though we are pretty much strangers to each other, as to the outward, thou wilt be sensible, that my thus communicating my private thought is in that love in which there is freedom, and with a hope thou wilt treat me in like manner, and am far from supposing thou hast judged hardly of John Woolman; but I believe some here-a-way, will, and would be glad, perhaps, to find flaws in his singularity, to cover themselves and stave off a narrower scrutiny and retrospection into their own conduct and

example. I am far from mourning that he is gone, believing his day's work is finished and his measure of suffering filled up. And I scarce ever expected his recovery during his sickness, though there were many favourable symptoms; for looking at the path, the unspeakable difficulties that would have attended his travelling, etc., it seemed often clear to me that he would either be delivered from it by death, or have more liberty in his mind respecting the use of some things. I have sometimes thought there might be a providential hand in his taking and dying of the small-pox; for if he had gone off in almost any other disorder, we might have feared his manner of living, and the hardships he was exposed to had occasioned it; but in this disorder, his manner of living might be a fit preparative; and the apothecary (so skillful in it) said, before he saw him that no person, living as he understood he had, could be much afflicted by having a great load of small-pox; but he found his mistake, and diligently attended him, expressing an anxious solicitude for his recovery, and divers times, with tears in his eyes, expressed his astonishment to see, as he said, such a perfect and upright man upon earth. John Woolman frequently conversed with him, with great openness, and when he differed in his judgment from the doctor, he gave him such reasons as were to him satisfactory. He attended his funeral, and said afterwards, he could scarce forbear giving testimony concerning him to the audience; but forbore, knowing it would be an intrusion upon us. Indeed a Methodist preacher did, in a few words at the grave side, with which divers of us were well satisfied, tho' not prudent to tell him so. I think now to conclude being afraid of being tedious; after saying we were truly sorry to be disappointed of seeing thee

here; but as thou intended it, I would hope we may yet see thee before thy return, which would be a little reviving in these drooping days to thy sincere friend, and poor little fellow-traveller, in the hope and fellowship of the gospel,

ESTHER TUKE

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF THAT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL JOHN WOOLMAN

IN A LETTER FROM ESTHER TUKE TO HER FRIEND

THE STATE of his mind throughout the whole of his unspeakable affliction was one continued calm; a firm trust in the Lord, with perfect resignation to his disposal, appeared throughout the whole; patient beyond description; his hope and confidence so firmly fixed, that no outward distress seemed able to discompose or ruffle him.

I think it is a favour we had the privilege of attending him. He could bear but a low voice, nor seldom more than one or two in the room at a time; and mostly without shoes; his head at times being violent bad, he said the lifting up a door latch, or stepping hard on the floor, was as if we had beat him with hammers, and yet throughout, his understanding was perfect; could bear to speak but little, but when he did about his nursing, or any thing needful, it was so expressive that every word seemed a sentence, and carried frequently deep instruction with it.

The day before he died, his throat was closed up, that he could scarce speak intelligibly, which distressed me

much, but he in great measure removed this difficulty by asking for pen and ink, which he got, and held the paper, and he wrote the words very legibly, though he was quite blind and had been so for some days; twice his throat was quite closed and we had the most distressing prospect that he might continue some days in that situation. The Doctor syringed his throat, but at last gave it up the night before he died and said nothing could be done; but my husband, who will never give up using means, as long as there is the least relief, set on to foment with his consent; and continued it for two hours; and had the great satisfaction to find it open again, and he swallowed better than he had done for some days before; and we were ready to flatter ourselves with hope; but it was of short duration; for though he got a little ease in that respect, yet he was several hours exceeding bad, and could not lie in bed; was got up in a chair, and towards morning had on some of his clothes, and with leaning on two, walked over the room; but wearied out was laid down again upon the bed, and after some time fell asleep, waked about the sixth hour, and breathed a few times, and departed without struggle, sigh, or groan; putting off his mortal body which was covered in a great measure with corruption, and loaded with unspeakable affliction, for a Glorious Covering a white Robe of Righteousness; and stepped out of deep distress to a Glorious Mansion, fully united with the Church triumphant in Heaven; with whom on Earth he had long been a member in praising and magnifying Him who had preserved safe through all. Who could murmur at the change? I am sure I rejoiced at it; and cannot but say, "let me die the death of the Righteous and let my latter end be like his," which was filled up with solid peace.

APPENDIX D

John Woolman's

Essay on the Ministry

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing for the use of such as are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than ministers, it is necessary for us not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof in the appointment of meetings. I felt a concern in America to prepare for this voyage, and being through the mercy of God brought safe hither my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent. For several weeks after my arrival when my mouth was opened in meetings it was like the raising of a gate in a water course when a weight of water lay upon it. In these labours there was a fresh visitation to many, especially to the youth, but sometimes I felt poor and empty, and yet there appeared a necessity to appoint meetings. In this I was exercised to abide in the pure life of Truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently found a necessity to stand up when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering Seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine Leader, under these dispensations enlargement hath at times followed, and the power of Truth hath risen higher in some meetings than I ever knew it through me before. Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America to come on a visit to England, but upon the daily instructions of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

Of late I have sometimes felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly, but in part: and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quickly, one after another, as I have done heretofore. The work of the ministry being a work of Divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments. Oh, how deep is Divine wisdom! Christ puts forth His ministers and goeth before them; and Oh, how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely! Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the gospel ministry their states are opened to His servants. Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging. Oh that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings may proceed in the pure feeling of duty!

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up, but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many and the pure life of truth hath been so pressed down that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place in which are stones here and there safe to step on, but so situated that, one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next. Now I find

that in a state of pure obedience the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world; and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place and are rightly exercised under the cross will find nourishment. The gift is pure; and while the eye is single in attending thereto the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out. We rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ for His body's sake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations, and if there be not a careful attention to the gift men who have once laboured in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light, not of Christ, who is under suffering, but of that fire which they in departing from the gift have kindled, in order that those hearers who have left the meek, suffering state for worldly wisdom may be warmed with this fire and speak highly of their labours. That which is of God gathers to God, and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind that the ministers among us may be preserved in the meek, feeling life of truth, where we may have no desire but to follow Christ and to be with Him, that when He is under suffering we may suffer with Him, and never desire to rise up in dominion but as He, by the virtue of His own spirit, may raise us.

JOHN WOOLMAN

APPENDIX E

Biographical Notes and Index

Adams, John Till, M.D., d. 1786.

A Quaker physician of Bristol, England. He died young. [P. 171]

Andrews, Isaac, d. 1775.

A member of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting. He was the younger brother of Peter Andrews. [P. 17]

Andrews, Jacob.

A brother of Isaac and Peter, and the founder of the village Jacobstown, N. J. He traveled somewhat in the ministry. [P. 21]

Andrews, Peter, 1707–56.

One of Woolman's most sympathetic and trusted friends and companions. He was recorded a minister at the same time as Woolman was, in 1743. [Pp. 20, 21]

Ashbridge, Aaron, 1712–76.

A well-to-do planter of Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was a justice of the peace but he refused to aid in recruiting soldiers at the time of the draft. [P. 80]

Benezet, Anthony, 1713–84.

A Quaker schoolteacher and crusader against slavery. He came of a French Huguenot family. After teaching at Penn Charter School, he started a progressive school for girls under Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was far in advance of his time in teaching the girls Latin and French, and in using gentle methods of discipline. [P. 161]

Bispham, John, 1734–91.

An owner of much land in Burlington County, N. J. Woolman helped to settle his father-in-law's estates. [P. 171]

Brown, Susanna, 1701–90.

The sister of John Churchman, and a minister. [P. 35]

Buffington, Benjamin, 1701–60.

A prominent minister, at one time on the Epistle Committee of New England Yearly Meeting. [P. 44]

Cadwalader, John.

Of Bucks Co., Pa. A member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1732-33. [P. 137]

Casey, John.

Clerk of the New England Yearly Meeting, he was an important merchant of Newport, Rhode Island. He traveled with John Woolman. [P. 109]

Chilaway, Job, d. 1796.

A Delaware Indian, living in Wyalusing. He was a Moravian convert, and spoke good English. After the Indians had been removed to Ohio, he became final owner of the lands at Wyalusing. [P. 130]

Churchman, John, 1705–75.

A minister who traveled extensively and whose published journal is well-known among Friends. In 1748 he addressed the Pennsylvania Assembly on the war tax and slavery. [Pp. 44, 81, 89]

Cox, William, d. 1782.

Of Deer Creek, Md. He came from England when young. [P. 44]

Crosfield, Jane, 1712–84.

Wife of George Crosfield of Low Hall, outside Preston Patrick. She made a religious visit to America, during which she met Woolman and his family. [P. 196]

Eastburn, Samuel, 1702–85.

A landowner of Bucks Co., Pa., and overseer and clerk of Buckingham Meeting. A minister, he traveled widely in the

colonies. He had been born in England, of the noble family of de Estburns, who had come with William the Conqueror and received from him one of the first Norman manors. [Pp. 89, 95]

Emlen, Jr., Samuel, 1730–99.

Of Philadelphia. A minister, he traveled in England and the Southern colonies. He had a gentle and winning character, with a finely cultivated mind. He was an only son, and wealthy. He took passage in the cabin of the *Mary and Elizabeth* while Woolman went in the steerage. [Pp. 168-69, 170, 185, 214]

Farrington, Abraham, 1691–1758.

A resident of Burlington, N. J. He was a minister and traveled widely. [P. 15]

Foster, Hannah, 1710–77.

A minister for forty years, she visited most Meetings in the colonies. Her husband, William, was a prominent Friend. [P. 99]

Foulke, Samuel, 1718–97.

An Elder and Clerk of Richland (Pa.) Monthly Meeting. He was prominent in politics, being for seven years a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He was a vigorous defender of the Penn Charter, and liberty of conscience and of government. He remained in office after most Quakers had withdrawn from government. [Pp. 118, 120, 137]

Gauntt, Ann, b. 1710.

A minister, the wife of Hananiah Gauntt of Little Egg Harbor, N. J. She was a powerful preacher. [Pp. 99, 105, 108]

Gawthrop, Thomas, 1709–80.

Born in Yorkshire, he became a convinced Friend after five years in the army. He made four visits to America, preaching against slave-keeping. [P. 23]

Griffith, John, 1713–76.

A minister, resident for many years in Darby, Pa. He was once on his travels taken prisoner by a privateer and carried into

Spain and France, whence he escaped. His journal has been published. [P. 21]

Hallett, Richard, 1691–1769.

Of "The Kilns," Newtown, L. I. An approved minister, the only one of his family to become a Quaker. [P. 34]

Head, John, 1723–92.

One of the largest merchants in the colonies. [P. 168]

Horne, William, 1714–72.

A minister, of Darby, Pa. He traveled in the ministry and was hospitable to other travelling Friends. [Pp. 151, 170]

Hoskins, Jane, 1693–1770.

A minister. Born in London, she came to America as an indentured servant. [Pp. 21, 35]

Hudson, Elizabeth, 1721–83.

A minister. Married Anthony Morris, Jr. [P. 21]

Hunt, William, 1733–72.

John Woolman's first cousin, the son of his Aunt Mary. Hunt was traveling in England at the time of Woolman's visit, and died of smallpox at Newcastle, where his ship was blown off course after having sailed from Amsterdam. His home was in North Carolina. [P. 196]

Jones, Benjamin, 1728–91.

Of Burlington Co., N. J. His daughter married a son of Woolman's sister Esther Gauntt. [Pp. 74, 117, 146, 151]

Jones, William, d. 1782.

Of Mansfield, N. J. [P. 146]

Kirby, Mary, 1709–79.

A traveling minister, born in Norfolk, England. [P. 79]

Lightfoot, William, 1731–94.

Of Pikeland, Chester Co., Pa. A member of Uwchlan Meeting, and a first cousin of Benjamin Parvin. [P. 121]

Logan, Sarah Portsmouth, d. 1794.

The widow of William Logan, Jr., with whom she had made a runaway match. She returned to her relatives in England on the *Mary and Elizabeth,* leaving her infant son with his Logan grandparents. [Pp. 171, 185]

Newby, Samuel.

He was on the first Yearly Meeting Committee of North Carolina to oversee Quaker publications. [P. 61]

Nichols, Joseph, b. 1730.

Founder of the sect of Nicholites, mostly concentrated in Maryland. Regularly organized in 1780, they were very plain and disapproved of mixing colors or materials in their dress. Nichols was the first in the Delaware and Maryland border to preach against slaveholding. [P. 147]

Noble, Mary, 1722–79.

Married Samuel Wetherill. [P. 117]

Nottingham, Samuel, 1716–87.

A native of England, lived some years in Tortola and Long Island. [P. 21]

Papunehang or Papoonal, 1705–75.

An Indian chief at Wyalusing, converted by the Moravian Zeisberger. He participated in conferences with Friends on Indian affairs. [Pp. 132, 134]

Parvin, Benjamin, b. 1727.

Of an Irish family, he was educated in Ireland. His father was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. [Pp. 120, 137]

Pemberton, Jr., Israel, 1715–79.

A member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, he resisted the demands of the Proprietary party, and enunciated for the first time in the colonies the principle of "no taxation without representation." He was wealthy, and a founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital. His common nickname was "King of the

Quakers." His wife's coach was seized by the British during the Revolution as the finest one in town for use by General Howe. In 1777 he was arrested and sent to Virginia for his non-resistance. [P. 120]

Pemberton, John, 1727–95.

A minister. Israel's youngest brother. He accompanied John Churchman on some of his travels. Both Pembertons were close friends of Woolman's. [P. 120]

Powell, Amos, 1700–49.

Of Long Island. [P. 22]

Reckitt, William, 1706–1769.

A Friend from Lincolnshire, England, he made two Quaker visits to America. On one journey in this country he traveled with John Pemberton. [P. 82]

Redman, Mercy, 1721–78.

A minister of Haddonfield, N. J. [Pp. 99, 105, 108]

Reynolds, James.

Brother-in-law of John Bispham. Not a Friend, he was later a warden of Christ Church, Philadelphia. [P. 171]

Scarborough, John, 1704–69.

Of Bucks Co., Pa. An "excellent but not learned" minister. [Pp. 35, 79, 89]

Shipley, Elizabeth, 1690–1777.

A traveling minister, native of Chester Co., Pa. She visited Barbados with Jane (Fenn) Hoskins. [P. 99]

Sleeper, John, b. 1731.

A neighbor of Woolman's and landowner in Mount Holly, a carpenter by trade. [Pp. 146-47]

Smith, Elizabeth, 1724–72.

Sister of John and Samuel Smith, all friends of Woolman. She traveled in the ministry. [P. 146]

Smith, John (of Marlborough), 1681–1766.

Born in Marlborough, Massachusetts, of a Presbyterian family who later became Friends. He was imprisoned as a young man for his testimony against war, and later, when in England, was "pressed" onto a man-of-war and imprisoned. After his return to America he married and settled in Pennsylvania. [P. 142]

Spavold, Samuel, 1708–95.

A ship's carpenter by trade, he traveled in the ministry. He was present at the Indian Treaty, Easton, Pa., in 1759. [P. 79]

Standley, William, 1729–1807.

Son of James Standley of Cedar Creek, Virginia, he had been imprisoned for refusing to be drafted or to furnish a substitute. See *John Woolman, American Quaker,* chap. XXVI. [Pp. 50, 61]

Stanton, Daniel, 1708–70.

A minister for over 43 years, he traveled to the West Indies, Ireland, and the Southern colonies. [Pp. 79, 81]

Storer, John, 1725–95.

A convinced Friend, of Nottingham, England. He was one of the first English Friends to visit America after the Revolution. [Pp. 82, 99, 103]

Sykes, John, 1682–1771.

Of Chesterfield, N. J. [Pp. 23, 27, 30, 81]

Trimble, William, 1705–95.

Born in County Antrim, Ireland, and lived near Concordville, Pa. [P. 79]

White, Joseph, 1712–77.

A traveling minister, who began to preach at twenty. He spent three years in England. [Pp. 79, 90, 170]

Woolman, Jr., Elizabeth, 1715–47.

John Woolman's sister. She was very close to Woolman, and helped to bring him up when he was a child. She never mar-

ried, became a tailoress in Haddonfield, and died of smallpox. [P. 20]

Woolman, Elizabeth Burr, 1695–1773.

John Woolman's mother, the daughter of Henry Burr, who lived at "Peachfields," near Mount Holly. [P. 3]

Woolman, Samuel, 1690–1750.

John's father. A weaver by trade, he also did some legal business, acting as executor, settling claims, etc. He had 13 children, 6 daughters, 7 sons. [Pp. 3, 4, 9, 25]

Woolman, Sarah Ellis, 1721–87.

John Woolman's wife, whom he married in 1749. She was the daughter of Benjamin Ellis and Mary Abbott Ellis. Her father was lost at sea, and she lived as a child with her Abbott grandparents. Her grandmother was a Mauleverer of Yorkshire, with ancestry going back to nine of the Barons who signed Magna Carta. Sarah's mother married again, then died when Sarah was eighteen. After this, Sarah lived with her Aunt Jane, the wife of Joseph Burr, one of Woolman's uncles, who inherited the Burr home, "Peachfields." Here Woolman often visited his cousins, among whom she was included. [Pp. 25, 96-7, 118, 120]

Woolman, Uriah, 1728–1804.

John Woolman's brother. He was in business in Philadelphia. He married his first cousin, Susanna Burr, and built a house, "Breezy Ridge," near Mount Holly. [P. 44]

Zeisberger, David, 1721–1808.

A Moravian pastor and the greatest Moravian missionary to the Indians. He translated hymns into Indian dialects. Born in Moravia, he and his parents came first to Georgia, then settled in Bethlehem, Pa. [Pp. 124, 131-32, 135]

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